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INDIA

AS IT OUGHT TO BE

UNDER THE NEW CHARTER ACT.

IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED.

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BY

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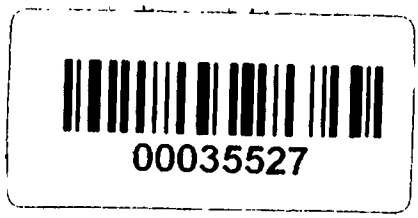

ADDRESS.

TO THE FRIENDS OF INDIA.

It is pleasing to an old Indian Officer to observe that the affairs of India are now becoming of considerable interest and importance in Great Britain; indeed in the United Kingdom. The period of the renewal of the lease for a further term in the hands of the East India Company appears even to be regarded by the apathetic as an event of some moment; for in 1874 the East India Stock will cease, and the profit and loss question is deserving of consideration. Those who have retired with the means of enjoying *otium cum dignitate* may think it a bore to be reminded of a residence in India during the hot winds;* others have no appointments to ask for, and get reconciled to the dull monotonies of a London Club life; or like to rusticate in the country, or to pass their time in travel, to drive away *ennui*. But even great legislators have not those reminiscences, — they have grave and important

* Thermometer at 96°—steady strong wind.

evidence to reflect on; many may not have read the despatches of the late and celebrated Duke of Wellington. As to subjects connected with the natives, the Author will quote His Grace's sentiments, which deserve to be printed in golden characters:—"I would* sacrifice Gwalior, or every frontier of India, ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith."

THE AUTHOR.

Oriental Club, London.
May, 1853.

* Despatches, vol. 3, p. 168. Letter to Major Malcolm, 17th March, 1804.

In regard to the chapter 2nd, on "Suttee" and "Infanticide," I think it my duty to make my most sincere acknowledgments to Lieut.-Col. J. *Ludlow*, Bengal Army, for his kind assistance. India is much indebted to him, for his very great exertions in the cause of humanity.

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Renewal of the Charter Act 1

CHAPTER I.

Law of Inheritance, &c. 3

CHAPTER II.

Suttee and Infanticide 10

CHAPTER III.

The Education of the Natives of India 17

CHAPTER IV.

The Government of India 25

CHAPTER V.

The Commanders-in-Chief in the Indian Armies 30

CHAPTER VI.

Commissions of the Officers in the Indian Army 32

CHAPTER VII.

Pensions for length of Service 33

CHAPTER VIII.

The Native Army—Castes—Recruiting 35

CHAPTER IX.

The Regular Native Cavalry 40

CHAPTER X.

Studs for Horse Artillery and Cavalry Horses 42

PAGE

CHAPTER XI.

The Artillery 44

CHAPTER XII.

Messes 46

CHAPTER XIII.

Furlough 49

CHAPTER XIV.

Cost of Wars in India 52

CHAPTER XV.

Rank of Civil and Military Services 60

CHAPTER XVI.

Promotion in the Indian Army, &c. 63

CHAPTER XVII.

Prize Money 68

CHAPTER XVIII.

Commissariat 75

CHAPTER XIX.

The Medical Service of India 79

CHAPTER XX.

Retired Officers, from 1798 to end of 1852 82

CHAPTER XXI.

Mutinies in the Native Army 87

CHAPTER XXII.

Opium Monopoly 92

CHAPTER XXIII.

Salt and Salt Revenue in India 99

CHAPTER XXIV.

Sugar Growing Districts in India 106

CHAPTER XXV.

Tea 119

CHAPTER XXVI.

Coffee 130

PAGE

CHAPTER XXVII.

Indigo 135

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Cotton ... 142

CHAPTER XXIX.

Tobacco ... 150

CHAPTER XXX.

Amalgamation of the Indian Armies objected to ... 153

CHAPTER XXXI.

Christianity in India ... 157

CHAPTER XXXII.

Concluding Chapter ... 172

APPENDIX ... 185

THE

RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER ACT.

The renewal of the Act of the Charter for granting to the East India Company a continuance of the government of India for a further period or term of years, is naturally a subject of great importance to the Court of Directors, and to the British public. Having arrived in Calcutta in 1806, and having served forty years in India, I have been enabled to possess some experience in Indian affairs, aided by a very extensive reading of the reports during many years.[1] Several previous writers have written largely upon many very interesting subjects regarding British India. I propose to touch upon several points which I deem of very great importance, and particularly on two or three subjects which are deeply interesting to the natives of India, and which affect the faith and honour of the British parliament. In doing so, we must not lose sight of the fact, that upon our conduct towards the natives of British India will depend the feelings of the natives of the independent states towards us. I have the means of saying much upon these subjects; but I have reasons for not doing more here, than allude to the provisions contained in the Acts passed in 1813 and 1833[2].

At the Meetings held lately at Manchester, there have been some strange doctrines broached. The *first* proposition is, to cause evidence to be taken regarding the defective state of the roads in Western India, and as to the imperfect state of the

(1) See Appendix (D.)

(2) The reader is referred to Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 26, p. 1017; 53 Geo. III, cap. clv., 21st July, 1813; and 3 & 4 Wm. IV, cap. lxxxv., 20th August, 1833.

growing of cotton[1] in India—the *second* is, that 10 per cent. of the revenue of India should be set aside, for the purpose of making roads, canals, etc.—the *third* is, that the said portion of revenue should be placed under the *control* of the said Manchester etc. Association—the *fourth* and latest proposal is, to take counsel as to the best mode of carrying on the Government of British India; but the desire is, not only to govern the East India Company, but to govern also the natives of India.[2] The improvement of their *social* condition at Manchester railroad-speed, would be a very dangerous experiment, and looks like an attempt to do that which was deprecated by *Mr. Wilberforce* and others in 1813. I must recommend a special *Manchester* Committee to be sent out to India to make enquiries, instead of the *Government Commission* proposed last year, to take evidence. The natives of India will thank the Association for their sympathy, but, as to *religion*, they desire not their aid. It is said that the Ministry desire to bring out the new Act this Session. The present Charter Act expires on the 30th April, 1854. It is to be hoped that the native petitions will be well inquired into. Though some may dispute the right to complain of the working of the Government of India, the natives of India have clearly justice on their side, in *urging* that laws or acts shall respect their prejudices, which the parliament in 1781, had conceded to them above seventy years ago.[3]

[1] See Appendix (E) regarding American Cotton and Slavery in that country.

[2] When the East India Company were "Merchants trading to the East Indies," many of the Directors were Merchants and Bankers, etc.—We require men chiefly who have *Indian* knowledge.

[3] 21 Geo. III.; see also 37 Geo.

CHAPTER I.

LAW OF INHERITANCE, ETC.

THE natives of India petition for the abrogation of the Act of the Supreme Government of India—the xxi of 1850, passed the 11th April of that year. The Acts of the 21 of Geo. III. cap. 70, and of the 37 Geo. III., cap. 142, pledged the parliament of Great Britain not to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives of India.[1] Some seem to think that expediency should govern all these cases; but how can a Christian nation overcome the difficulty of reconciling it to the principles of Christianity, to break faith. We are taught[2] not to do evil, "that good may come." It should be morally expedient to do that which is right. "*Fiat justitia ruat Cælum.*" One writer says,[3] "But I think that the government may and ought to do its best to abate the social difficulties of converts." The cases I shall very soon quote will exhibit the working of the attempt to Europeanize native ideas.

The Act, No. xxi. of 1850 (11th April), is "An Act for extending the principle of section ix., regulation vii., 1832, of the Bengal code, throughout the territories subject to the government of the East India Company." "Whereas it is enacted by section ix., regulation vii, 1832, of the Bengal code, that whenever in any civil suit, the parties to such suit may be of different persuasions, when one party shall be of the Hindu, and the other of the Mohammedan persuasion; or where one or more of the parties to the suit shall not be either of the Mohammedan or Hindu persuasions,[4] the laws of those religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled; and whereas it will be beneficial to extend the principle of that

[1] An Act of Parliament can now annul the Acts of former Parliaments; but no parliament would now set aside the Act to exempt from penalties persons denying the doctrine of the Trinity, passed in 1813.

[2] Romans, chap. iii. 8.

[3] Campbell's India as it may be, p. 399 (1853.)

[4] This is to admit Christians to set aside the Hindu law. The *Parsees* have no settled *civil* law, and as to criminal law, they are governed by the Mohammedan law.

enactment throughout the territories, subject to the government of the East India Company, it is enacted as follows:—1. So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by royal charter within the said territories."[1]

Now let us see the wording of the Act of 21 of Geo. III., cap. 70, section 18: "And, in order that regard should be had to the civil and religious usages of the said natives, be it enacted, that the rights and authorities of fathers of families and masters of families, according as the same may have been exercised by the *Gentu* or *Mohammedan* law, shall be *preserved*[2] to them respectively, within their said families; nor shall any acts done in consequence of the rule and law of caste, respecting the members of the said families only, be held and adjudged a *crime*, although the same may not be held *justifiable by the laws of England*." Next: "And[3] to frame such process, and make such rules and orders for the execution thereof, in suits civil or criminal against natives of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as may accommodate the same to the *religion* and *manners* of such natives,[4] so far as the same consist with the due execution of the laws and attainment of justice." This regarded the Bengal Presidency.

The 37 Geo. III., cap. 142, sections 12 & 13, was granted as a guide for the Supreme Court of Fort William, and for the Recorders' courts at Madras and Bombay.[5] The last recited Act is a repetition of the Act of 21 Geo. III., above recited. It is stated by a gentleman versed in the Hindu law, that the Act of the xxi. of 1850, does not affect equally all the Hindoos under the Bengal Presidency, as there are two different Shasters. The Hindoo convert to Christianity, by Hindu law, becomes an out-caste from Hindooism, and forfeits his share of the ancestral property! The Bengal petition[6] states that, "all property of Hindoos, according to Hindu law, descends in case of intestacy, from the ancestor to the heirs, subject to the condition, that these shall, on the death of the former, make the necessary funeral oblations, and perform

[1] Supreme Courts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.

[2] My *italics*.

[3] The Supreme Court of Fort William, in Bengal. None but Recorders' Courts then at Madras or Bombay.

[4] *Purdah Nusheen* (women living behind a Purdah—screen) are not brought into a court of justice, *unveiled*.

[5] Madras Supreme Court in 1802; at Bombay in 1823.

[6] Para. 4.

during their lives, the periodical rites and ceremonies enjoined by Hindu law and religion, for the deceased line of ancestors; and the Hindoo's confidence in meeting death, and hope of a happy state after this life, depend on his assurance, that this condition will be religiously and faithfully performed. And by a just logical consequence, the Hindu law confines the right of inheritance to such persons as are willing and able to perform, or join in performing, the said condition."

The petitioners[1] say, "Your present petitioners are the inhabitants of three different provinces, and by reason of some local differences between the Hindu law of Bengal from that of Behar and Orissa, they are not all necessarily affected by the said Act in the same manner. In Bengal, but not in Behar and Orissa, nor generally in the rest of India, the Hindoos may legally make a will of the whole of their property, and thereby they have the power of securing[2] it to those who will respect its consecrated uses, and the trusts to which it is subject for the benefit of ancestors. But all your petitioners alike regard the Act in its entirety as subversive of Hindu society."

They again say,[3] "Your petitioners are not insensible to the peculiar case of such of their countrymen, especially the young and inexperienced, as have been gained over to professing to be Christians. But your petitioners submit, their becoming Christians does not entitle them to the benefit of special legislation. Their desertion of the religion of their country, opens to many of them a career of fortune in which their brother Hindoos cannot follow them, and no converts from the faith of a nation were ever so favourably circumstanced as are Hindu Christians." But it is time to introduce my Cases, as the Act affects wives and children —another branch of the question.

Case 1.—On the 14th of February, 1851,[4] Narayun Ramchunder, of Ahmednuggur, became a Christian convert. His wife would not follow him, but left him, and took her child with her, a boy of seven years of age. He instituted a suit before the principal Sudder Ameer.[5] He decided in favour of the law of the defendant, and gave the wife the guardianship of the child! The husband appealed to the Sudder Adawlut, of Bombay. In the meantime, Act xxi. of 1850 had become law. The sitting judge, *Mr. P. W. Le Geyt*, decided in favour of the father, contrary to the Hindu law.

Case 2.—"*Convert Rights.*"—*Streenavassa*, a Brahmin, had[6]

[1] Para. 12.

[2] By adopting a son, (para. 7,) if an only son become a Christian.

[3] Para. 14.

[4] Madras Athenæum, April 12th, 1851, p. 50.

[5] Native Law Officer.

[6] Friend of India, 26th of June, 1851, p. 402. See Madras Overland Athenæum, 9th of July, 1851, p. 126.

become a Christian convert. His wife left him at the desire of her father; the wife (*Lutchmee Ummall,*) aged fifteen years, was brought into the Madras Supreme Court by writ of "*Habeas Corpus,*" on the 7th of June, 1851. The Advocate-General (*Mr. G. Norton,*) moved that *Lutchmee Ummall* be returned to her husband. The judge, (*Sir W. Burton*) who presided, gave his decision under the Act xxi. of 1850, the "*Liberty of Conscience Act.*" The wife had come into court attended by her aunt, her father, a host of relations, and about 500 Brahmins. "His lordship ordered the wife to walk over to the other side of the court, to the place where her husband was seated, but she refused." "She was, therefore, carried by one of the constables[1] to the judge's room," etc. "Lastly, the 500 Brahmins outside yelled, and clenched their fists, and seemed inclined to carry the place by storm, till they were at length expelled by main force from the compound."[2] In fact it was a most disgraceful affair.

Case 3.—(The same kind of Case.)—At Bombay, *Ballaram Gunput,* a Hindu convert to Christianity, married in 1850, his wife *Pootabaee,* then about fourteen years of age. The husband became a Christian on the 16th of September, 1850. His wife left him and lived with her mother. *Mr. Dickenson,* the husband's counsel, applied for a writ of "*Habeas Corpus.*" *Sir Erskine Perry,* the chief justice of the Bombay Supreme Court, said he differed very decidedly from the opinion of *Sir W. Burton.*[3] He said "if a Christian chose to indulge in the luxury of having four wives, (having become a Mohammedan,) he could not compel his (Christian) wife to live with him. No court of law would compel her." "The same principle, in his opinion, was applicable to a *Hindu* wife, who could not live with her *Christian*[4] husband without pollution." "It was an opinion in accordance with law." Application refused.[5] These two Cases prove that Her Majesty's Supreme Courts make mistakes as well as the Madras Company's Courts of Civil Judicature.

Case 4.—In the petition of the Madras Native Association, etc., dated 10th of December, 1852, para. 99, the following case is quoted:—"That the second instance (regarding missionary interference) happened in 1847, the child in dispute being a female named * * *, upon which occasion, * * *," alluding to the former decision, in the case of * * *, acknowledged that, "had the object of his choice been bad, I should have come to another decision." There was, however, no occasion this time to substi-

[1] An European.

[2] The Chinese word *Compong,* the ground, or enclosure round about a house or building.

[3] See Case, No. 2.

[4] My *Italics*

[5] Allen's Indian Mail, 16th of November, 1852.

tute discretion and a good choice in the place of age, as an affidavit was put into court from two doctors in the Company's service to this effect:—"We, upon our oaths, say that we did, at the request, and in the presence of the Reverend * * *, on the 19th of April, 1847, examine and inspect the person of * * * and that we are of opinion that the said * * * is of the age of twelve years, or thereabouts;" "and accordingly the court adjudged the possession of the girl, thus shamelessly and insultingly submitted to examination and inspection by three men, one of them a Christian minister," etc.

The Calcutta missionaries,[1] about three weeks before the publication of the Act, No. xxi. of 1850, addressed a letter to the Governor-General, from which extracts are here given. "We deprecate any attempt to multiply conversions by favour[2] or by force." "It (the Act xxi. of 1850) offers no premium, and inflicts no penalty. It enables the convert who seeks admission to the Christian church, to obey the dictates of his conscience, free from the dread of forfeiture, while, at the same time, it leaves his relatives in possession of precisely the same property which they had before."[3] Concluding, "and we earnestly hope that undeterred by the *sophistry*[4] which represents the Hindu or Mohammedan as injured, when no longer allowed to *oppress* his Christian relative, your lordship in council will pass into a law the Act respecting which we have thus ventured to express our sentiments."

It is strange that the Missionaries should style the ancient Hindu law, framed for years before the Christian era, as an Act of oppression. The Hindu law was not framed to oppose Christianity. It was intended to regulate the morals and conduct of the Hindu people,[5] as a nation. The Hindu, if he became a Mohammedan, or committed acts prohibited by his religion or law, would become an out-caste—so that the Hindu law is general in its enactments.

Bishop *Heber*[6] wrote, "That Providence would eventually make our nation the dispenser of a still greater blessing to our Asiatic brethren, and, in his own good time, and by such gentle and peaceable means as only are well pleasing in his sight, unite to

[1] Madras Overland Athenæum, 1850, p. 62, from the *Calcutta Eastern Star*, 23rd of March, 1850.

[2] A gentleman high in the Bengal Civil Service proposed, about twenty-six years ago, to government, that Native Christians should be promoted in the public offices, in preference to all other natives.

[3] If a Hindu had an only son who became a Christian, there would be an *adopted* son. Now, it is clear that if the Act gave a share to the *convert*, there must be an arrangement for the *adopted* son, hence there would be a double demand on the ancestral property.

[4] My *italics*.

[5] About 100,000,000 under our rule; and more in the independent states.

[6] Mirror of Parliament, No. 24, (1833) p. 2299, Letter to the Governor-General of India. Speech of Mr. C. Grant, in 1833.

us, in community of faith, of morals, of science, and political institutions, the brave, the mild, the civilized, and highly intelligent race, who only in the above respects can be said to fall short of Britons."

On the renewal of the Act in 1813, the celebrated *Mr. Wilberforce*[1] said, "And after much reflection, I do not hesitate to declare, that, from enlightening and informing them, in other words, from education and instruction, from the diffusion of knowledge, from the progress of science, more especially from all these combined with the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the Native languages, I ultimately expect even more than from the direct labours of Missionaries, properly so called. By enlightening the minds of the Natives, we should root out their errors, *without provoking their prejudices;* and it would be impossible that men of enlarged and instructed minds could continue enslaved by such superstitions." "They would in short become Christians, if I may so express it, themselves, without knowing it."[2]

We should not attempt any alteration in the law regarding the religion of the Natives, without consulting the best informed among either Hindoos or Mohammedans, as the case may be. All Christians must desire to hear of the extension of Christianity all over the world; but, surely, since the Christian religion teaches us that we ought to keep a promise when made—to break that promise cannot be defended on Christian principles.[3] The promise made in 1781, was not to interfere with the Indian law of inheritance: in 1850, the regulation of 1832 was extended in its application to the whole of India.[4]

In the 53rd Section of the 3 and 4 Wm. IV., cap. 85, (28 August, 1833) in alluding to the framing of Laws by the Governor-General in Council, I find the words "due regard being had *to the rights,*[5] *feelings, and peculiar usages* of the people," and "due regard being had to the distinction *of castes, difference of religion, the manners and opinions prevailing among different races,* and in different parts of the said territories." Next, as if the reader of the Act might forget the command given, he is reminded by section 85, of laws for the protection of the Natives "by laws and regulations, to provide with all convenient speed for the protection

[1] Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (1813) vol. 26, p. 832, (22nd of June, 1813) my *Italics.*

[2] I am tempted to allude to the talented and late Ram Mohun Roy. He became a Unitarian Christian (after his conversion), and succeeded in converting his European *Converter* to Unitarianism.

[3] Some Mohammedan doctors teach "not to keep faith with infidels," but that is not a general opinion.

[4] The regulation of 1832 was published during the Charter of 1813; but no previous notice of two months, (as is now the case, by the publication of a *draft* of the proposed Acts) was given.

[5] My *Italics.*

of the Natives of the said territories from *insult and outrage, in their persons, religions, or opinions,*" so that the law was repeated a third time.

In the Petition to the Houses of Parliament the Hindoos say,[1] "If the son becomes a Christian, or from any other cause is deprived of caste, the father is entitled by Hindu law to adopt another son, who would by the same law take the inheritance. The Act in question (xxi. of 1850), by severing the inheritance from the adoption, and securing it to the original son, virtually and practically annuls the Hindu right of adoption."[2] The Act is to extend the provisions of regulation 7, 1832, by the ix. section of which it is declared, that in carrying out *that* regulation—"In all such cases, the decision shall be governed by the principles of justice, equity, and good conscience; it being clearly understood, however, that the provision shall not be considered as justifying the introduction of the English, or any foreign law, or the application to such cases of any rules not sanctioned by those principles." Well might the Hon. Mr. Bethune have written,[3] "I have prepared an Act (xxi. of 1850) for this purpose, though with some lingering doubt of the justice of the measure."

There seems to have been no reference to the fact that there are more than one Shaster by which the Hindoos are governed in regard to their property. Even in England the law of "*Gavelkind,*"[4] or equal division of property among male children, exists in parts of *Kent*, but no where else. The natives of Bengal proper have a Shaster different from that in use in other places under the Bengal Presidency. The question is one of a political nature, as well as one dependant upon the religion of many millions of persons, whose obedience as a people is well known; and whose conduct to their parents and relations is proverbially good.[5]

[1] Para. 7.

[2] The Act would interfere with the Hindu by preventing an only son from performing the funeral obsequies of the father, for the Christian son could not do so; and as the adoption is prevented—the ceremony cannot take place.

[3] Madras Petition, para. 92.

[4] Derived from the Saxons, about A.D. 550.

[5] If any one doubts the religious opinions of the author, he will be happy to show his pamphlet, published in Calcutta in 1848, in proof of the Trinity, in answer to Unitarian objections.

CHAPTER II.

SUTTEE AND INFANTICIDE.

The woman who is burnt on the funeral pyre of her husband is called *Sati* or *Suttee*. Mr. *Alexander Dow*, writing in 1812,[1] says, "The extraordinary custom of the women burning themselves with their deceased husbands, has, for the most part, fallen into desuetude in India; nor was it ever reckoned a religious duty, as has been very erroneously supposed in the West. This species of barbarity, like many others, rose originally from the foolish enthusiasm of feeble minds." In a text in the Bedas (*Vedas*), conjugal affection and fidelity are thus figuratively inculcated: "The woman, in short, who dies with her husband, shall enjoy life eternal with himin heaven." From this source the Brahmins themselves deduce this ridiculous custom, which is a more rational solution of it than the story which prevails in Europe, that it was a political institution, made by one of the Emperors, to prevent wives from poisoning their husbands, a practise, in those days, common in Hindustan.[2]

Colonel Tod (Annals and Antiquities of *Rajast'han*, 1829, vol. i. p. 634) says, "Whoever has examined these (Sacred Sastras), is aware of the conflict of authorities for and against cremation; but

[1] History of Hindustan—New Edition. Dissertation on the Hindoos, p. xxx., 1812.

[2] From a perusal of Menu (*Munnoo*), some thirty years ago, and observing rules for the conduct of widows in after life, I entertained the European notion above referred to, and do so to this day. *He* does not mention Suttee. In chapter 5, verse 157, it is said, "Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man."—Vol. 3 *Sir W. Jones's Works*, 1799. The antiquity of this work (*Munnoo*) is not known, but the Commentary of *Cullúca* is said to have been written 800 years before Christ, or 2653 years ago. The Brahmins do derive a profit from Suttees taking place, as well as from marriages. The son of the Rana of Oodeepoor died in 1818; he was taken out of his bed before his death, to be weighed against silver. The Emperors of Delhi were weighed twice in the year, and the gold or silver given to the Brahmins—so at marriages certain sums are spent—a lakh of rupees (£10,000) is, at times, laid out.

a proper application of them (and they are the highest who give it not their sanction), has, I believe, never been resorted to." But there is a more ancient authority.

On the 15th of January, 1853,[1] Professor H. H. Wilson, gave a lecture on the Vedas at the Royal Asiatic Society. He said, "The Vedas are four in number,—1, Rich or Rig; 2, Yajush, or Yajur; 3, Sáma; 4, Atharva. Of the first the complete text is in course of publication at the expense of the East India Company.[2] Of the four Vedas, the first three are undoubtedly more ancient than the fourth; and the first, or Rich, is the oldest of all, for portions of that are to be found in each of the others." The value of the Vedas depends upon the soundness of their claims to a high antiquity; and taking the Rich, or most ancient, the lecturer entered into an elaborate examination of the various points tending to fix its age, and finally arrived at the conclusion that it was compiled as far back as the fourteenth or fifteenth century, B.C., a period which Mr. *Colebrooke* had also computed from astronomical data furnished by the hymns themselves. This book was thus contemporary with the Pentateuch, and the hymns no doubt existed even prior to this period of their collection and formation into a book. The religious worship, as represented in the hymns of the Rich, is chiefly that of *Agni* or fire, and the personified elements, especially Indra, the deity of the firmament. Though analogous to the worship of the ancient Persians, it differs in not adoring the sun and planetary bodies as paramount divinities. No mention is made of Brahma and Siva, two of the *Tri Majores* of the modern Hindoos; and *Vishnu*, though named, no where possesses the attributes which he now holds as a member of the sacred triad."—"All, in fact, that now constitutes transcendental Hinduism has no warrant in the Vedas." "There are no positive indications of the offering of animals, except in two remarkable hymns composed for the celebration of the sacrifice of the *horse*—a real sacrifice, as the roasting, boiling, and eating of the flesh, are clearly to be inferred; a practise strongly at variance with the modern Hindu notions of purity. The sacrifice of *horses*, according to Herodotus, was practised among the Scythians, but the particulars given are too few for instituting a close comparison." "This actual sacrifice of a *horse*, has in later times been converted into a typical one, possibly to avoid the reproach of animal sacrifices, which Buddhism, the rival religion, discountenanced." "It was scarcely to be expected that any warrant should be found for the burning of widows, as that practise is not

[1] Morning Chronicle, 17th of January, 1853. My *Italics*.

[2] The Professor has translated the "first of the eight books of which it consists," and is engaged on the remainder. The first and second works are published under the patronage of the East India Company; the third printed at Gottingen.

enjoined by the law-giver *Menu*, a later authority."[1] "One passage of the Rich, cited as authority, has been verified, but with a very unexpected result; for the only passage relating to widowhood inculcates the very reverse of self-immolation. In fact it seems almost certain that they did not *burn*, but *bury*[2] the dead." The lecturer concluded by observing, that "when the whole Rig Veda shall have assumed an English dress, it will be in the power of all inquirers to judge of the great changes which Hinduism has undergone.[3] All the distinguishing features of the modern belief have no foundation in the books which the Hindoos profess to hold sacred. The real character of these works has hitherto been hidden from them by the difficulties of the language, for the *Brahmins, who recite the verses at sacrifices, do not pretend to understand them.* From the English, therefore, the Hindoos must gain a knowledge of their own sacred writing, and multitudes are already able to avail themselves of that medium. By doing so they are not likely to revert to the Vedic adoration of the elements, but they will see the hollowness of the foundation on which their present system is based." "Nothing, therefore, can be compared with them (*Vedas*) but the laws and chronicles of the Jews, who, as a nation, are extinct."[4]

In 1829, *Lord W. Bentinck*, Governor-General of India, after consulting the opinions of those most competent to form a judgment, ascertained that *Suttee* was not a religious rite—the authority of Menu proved that *Suttee* was not mentioned, though the work dated back more than 2,600 years; and in fact, *Menu* pointed out that the widow should live a chaste and virtuous life, not even mentioning the name of another man.[5] His lordship published, accordingly, an order by the Government of India, abolishing *Suttee* in all the provinces and districts under British rule.[6]

"There still remained not less than twenty-one millions, the

[1] The *Rig Veda* is about 600 years before Menu; or 3253 years ago.

[2] My *Italics*.

[3] Let it be translated into Oordoo, for the benefit of the natives of India generally.

[4] *Mr. John Bentley*, who translated the Hindu Astronomy (vide Asiatic Researches) in 1823, states that the Brahmins finding that Christianity was making progress, published a work in which the Hindu Triad (Brahma, *Vishnu*, and Siva—the "Creator," "Preserver," and "Destroyer"), was changed into Brahma, *Krishna*, and Siva. Mr. B. calculated that the work was written on the 7th of August, 600 A.D. The Hindoos had no warrant for Suttees but the dicta of the Brahmins for their own pecuniary benefit.

[5] It appears from Allen's Indian Mail of the 4th of May, 1852, p. 252, (quoting from the Calcutta Hurkarú) that a Hindu widow had re-married. "An educated Native of a liberal cast of mind has married a widow. The nuptials, it is said, have been celebrated in the Mofussil (*i. e.*, the country), where both parties, with their families, are on a tour."

[6] Wilson's History of British India, vol. 9, p. 265.

subjects of states which, though our allies, could be in no degree reached by the legislation of 1829."[1] Judging from analogy, we must suppose that Lord W. Bentinck would have taken steps to induce these independent states to abolish the rite in their countries, had it been suggested—for in 1833, his lordship directed the disuse of the *Korah*[2] as the means of inflicting corporal punishment in the case of criminals, or for discipline in the jails, in our own provinces. He also directed the several European diplomatic agents at the Native Courts, to use their influence in procuring the consent of the native independent Rajahs, etc., to also abolish these punishments.[3] But in the case of *Suttee*, there seems to have been some doubt as to the course to be taken in regard to the Native states.

At last *Major* (now *Lieut.-Colonel*) *J. Ludlow*, the diplomatic agent at *Jypoor*, after taking precautionary measures succeeded, and on the 23rd of August, 1846, "*the Council of Regency at Jypoor led the way among the great independent Rajpoot states, in declaring Suttee penal on all parties engaged in it, principals as well as accessories.*"[4] *Lord Hardinge*, then at Simla, at once caused a notification of this event, coupled with an expression of thanks to *Major Ludlow*, to be published in the Government Gazette, on the 22nd of September, 1846; and so vast and so swift was the effect of this example, and of the prominence thus judiciously assigned to it, that before Christmas his lordship was enabled to announce the prohibition of Suttee by eleven out of eighteen Rajpoot principalities, and by five out of the remaining sixteen free states of India! Rajpootana has a great influence on Hindustan. The Rajpoots not living in Rajpootana, are inferior to the old Rajpoot families. The latter would not intermarry with the former unless they made a pecuniary sacrifice on the marriage.

The Rana of Oodeepoor, and the other Rajpoots are of the same caste, but of divers *clans*. To his Highness, indeed, is accorded the foremost rank; Jodhpoor[5] and Jypoor[6] come next; Rajpoot example would in the rest of Hindustan have a widely extended influence. *Major Ludlow* first commenced with the case of *infanticide*, and having cautiously taken his measures, by ascer-

[1] Quarterly Review, September, 1851, p. 258.

[2] A very severe whip, like a Native horseman's whip.

[3] Sir *C. M. Wade*, obtained the concession from the late Maharaja Runjeet Sing, Governor of Lahore, and the author made a collection of the Criminal Regulations of the Bengal Government, exhibiting the milder sentences of our Courts. This code was sent to Runjeet by my friend Sir *C. M. Wade*, and his highness adopted the British rules—his highness also adopted a code of Articles of War, made out conformably to those of the Indian Army. Runjeet, indeed, applied to Sir C. M. Wade of his own accord.

[4] The Act of the Suttee, a woman burnt, is *suicide*, prohibited by the Vedas, and those concerned are guilty of *murder*.

[5] Has given its consent to the abolition; see Appendix. (B.)

[6] Jypoor took the lead; see Appendix (C.)

taining the feelings of the chiefs and agents from the other states, obtained permission to gain the official sanction for the measure. This once done, it prepared the way for proceeding to the consideration of the case of *Suttee*. The Jypoor state was greatly convinced by the argument, that *Menu* prescribed a certain conduct on the part of widows, which would have been useless, if widows were to be burnt. He never mentions the word *Suttee*. Nor does the *Rig Veda* mention the term *Suttee*, or indicate any *human* sacrifice.

It is to be hoped, that while parliamentary committees are engaged in various ways to improve the condition of the natives of India, they will recommend to both houses to advise the Government of India to urge the diplomatic agents at the Non-Abolitionists Courts of the Native princes, to take steps to induce the immediate abolition of a rite so contrary to the precepts of the ancient Hindu religion, and so repugnant to all feelings of humanity.

Lieut.-Colonel Ludlow,[1] as before observed, was successful with regard to *infanticide*.[2] All the states enumerated in Table (C,) came in at once, into the proposition to put down *infanticide*. The priests used to receive large sums on marriages taking place. Being often unable to meet these expenses, the parents had recourse to *infanticide*—a kind of compromise was made at Jypoor and the other Rajpoot states,[3] by the fathers agreeing to give a certain moderate sum, instead of the large sums demanded by the priests and bards. At last the chiefs, finding the British Government in their favour, determined to give *nothing!* Formerly parents raised just so many girls as they could afford to marry off, and destroyed the rest.[4] The Rajpoots considered it a scandal not to marry their daughters. The criminality of the practise of *infanticide* was, indeed, acknowledged. Rajpoot decorum demanded that it should be veiled in secrecy.[5] In China, thousands of families live in boats on the rivers. A gourd is fastened round the necks of a *male*, but none on the *female* children. If the latter fall overboard, they are sure to be lost.

Major (*Lieut.-Colonel*) *Ludlow*,[6] obtained permission to do his best, on the single condition of using no direct solicitation towards the chiefs.

His first efforts were thus confined to his brother diplomatists,

[1] Quarterly Review, September, 1851, p. 264.

[2] Mr. J. Duncan, at Benares, in 1794, took steps at Benares to put down the custom in our own provinces.

[3] See Table (C.) Appendix.

[4] In the West of India there is a peculiar system with regard to the Jharejahs; sums of money are collected to give dowries with girls on their marriage.

[5] After the custom in some convents in Europe.

[6] Review, p. 265.

and such Native deputies of the other states, as resided at Jypoor, for the purpose of communicating on plunder cases. He did not employ the aid of missionaries.

In the Guicowar country, in 1819,[1] *Capt. Barnewell* made arrangements to obtain money to be given to the daughters of the Jharijahs, under an agreement with the chiefs, to put a stop to *infanticide*. Fines were levied for any breach of this regulation, and all fines levied on chiefs for other offences, as well as for *infanticide*, were authorised by the Bombay Government to be thrown into a fund to be distributed in portions to female children so preserved under the regulation.[2] There are still some parts of the country where British influence does not extend, and we are ignorant as to the extent of *infanticide* in such parts of the country.

The estimate in which *Lord Hardinge* held the benefit of the abolition of *Suttee* by *Lord W. Bentinck*, may be judged by the fact, that at a dinner given by the East India Company to his lordship, on his return from India, on the 5th of April, 1848, he alluded to his triumphs in the cause of humanity, more than he did to those of his victories over the Sikhs. The directors responded to the sentiment. The old Roman, after all his battles, turned his sword into a plough-share. *Washington*, the great American general, after the independence of America was obtained, retired into private life. The circumstances of Great Britain required *Lord Hardinge* to again assume the duties of military command and responsibility. He will, doubtless, in his place in the House of Lords, plead the good cause he approved of in India. The cause of humanity is of Christian origin, and grant that those in authority, at home and in India, may take steps to complete the good work commenced in 1829.

Mr. Goulburn, in the House of Commons, on the 19th of April, 1852,[3] alluding to the prejudices of the Natives, said:—"But since then many of these inveterate prejudices had been overcome, and one meritorious officer,[4] by his own exertions and prudent management alone, had induced the Rajpoots, who were most bigoted in the prejudices of *Suttee*, to abandon that practise so revolting to all our feelings."—(*hear, hear.*) The Morning Chronicle of the 21st of April, 1852, in its leader, says:—"*Mr. Goulburn* referred to the recent achievements of *Colonel Ludlow*, among a portion of the independent Rajpoot states, as affording a proof that the most inveterate prejudices of Native superstition may yield to prudent efforts. It will be for Parliament to ascertain whether those efforts have been duly followed up, or whether the principalities which led the way in abandoning *Suttee*, have

[1] Book, East India Affairs, 1827, p. 28; Infanticide.
[2] Some obtained marriage portions of £185 in amount.
[3] Morning Chronicle, 20th of April, 1852.
[4] *Lieut.-Colonel Ludlow.*

been left to infer that the Government of India is careless whether the cause of enlightened improvement goes forward or retrogrades. The discussion of practical questions like these will sufficiently tax the energies of the most eager politician. The call for inquiry is, indeed, sufficiently urgent, and the interests at stake sufficiently vast, to meet alike the solicitude of statesmen and the forbearance of theorists."

To commemorate such an event as the abolition of *Suttee* in these independent states, there should be a *medal* of gold struck to be given to the Rajahs and different chiefs who have so humanely abolished *Suttee*, and another for the abolition of *infanticide*.[1] This would induce those who have not as yet given in their adhesion to the measure of abolition in the case of *Suttee*, to agree to issue proclamations similar to that made by the Rajah of Jadhpoor.[2] Let the Court of Directors direct the Government of India to issue a public notification of the names of the Rajahs who have given in their adhesion, and send a copy of the notification to each of the Native states concerned.[3] Had the same system of prudent precaution noticed, been adopted in regard to the Act xxi. of 1850, much injustice might have been avoided. As to *Oodeepoor*, the Rana in 1818, was in so destitute a state, that the late *Colonel Tod* was obliged to advance, on the part of the Government of India, 4,000 Rs. (£400) a month until that prince could obtain *any* revenue from his own country! All these states have had our pecuniary assistance, and though the benevolent intention of that great man, the late *Marquis Wellesley*, was before he left India, to have taken the Rajpoot states under our protection,[4] and though the blind policy of *Lord Cornwallis* was adverse to the political and liberal intentions of his predecessor, and which, on *his* death, *Sir G. Barlow* thought it his duty to act up to: it is due to *Sir George* to state that he afterwards saw the error he had committed. *Lord Hastings*, in 1818, did take them under his protection, when all was desolation and poverty. Now that the Burmese war is probably coming to an end, it is to be hoped that the Court of Directors will urge the Government of India to cause their diplomatic agents to move in the right direction. *Sir R. C. Shakespeare* has obtained another adhesion in the person of the Rajah of Jodhpoor: which proves that where zeal, and the interest of the Natives of India is *at heart*, the mind will find the means of carrying out any measure.

[1] Gold medals were given to *Mr. C. Bruce*, *Major Jenkins*, and *Capt. Charlton*, for the discovery of tea in *Assam*, by the Royal Society.

[2] See Appendix (B.) and the twelve previous Cases of adhesion.

[3] *Lieut.-Colonel Ludlow* specially deserves not only a medal, but to be more noticed for his zeal, ability, and humanity.

[4] The Rajah of Jypoor rebuked our agent for a breach of faith, when *Lord Cornwallis* refused to take the states under his protection.

CHAPTER III.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

UNDER the renewal of the Act of the Charter,[1] in July, 1813, it was resolved to set apart yearly a certain sum, (not less than one lakh of rupees) to be applied to the "Revival and Improvement of Literature, and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India, and to establish schools, and lectures, etc." In 1830, the sum expended amounted to £44,330.[2]

Mr. *Herries*, President of the Board of Control, said in the House of Commons, on 19th April, 1852, that,[3] "in 1823, the only Native educational establishments founded by the British Government were, the Mohammedan College,[4] Calcutta, and Sanscrit College, at Calcutta, and Benares. In 1835, there were fourteen establishments, schools, etc. In 1852, there were above forty in the Bengal, and the North West Provinces. In 1835, the great change was adopted of substituting the English for the Oriental system of education;[5] and in the report of the Council of Education for 1849, Mr. *Bethune* spoke highly of the talent, literary and scientific, 'evinced by the young men of this country.' In

[1] The usual phraseology is the "Renewal of the Charter," though Lord Broughton objects to the term. See 53 Geo. III, cap. 155, section 43.

[2] E. I. Affairs (Public) 1832. Appendix p. 483. In 1835, the amount was £66,563.

[3] Times, 20th April, 1852.

[4] See Mr. C. Lushington's Calcutta, etc. Institutions, 1824.

[5] There is a Mohammedan College also at Hooghly. It appears from E.X.A.M.E.N, p. 19, (by the late Persian translator to the Government of Bengal,) that about 1848 the Council of Education gave directions as follows: that, "It is expedient for all pupils of the *Arabic* department to commence at once, and simultaneously, the study of *Arabic* and *English*; they (the Council) think it would be beneficial for all the pupils recently admitted to join the *English* class, and that hereafter every Arabic student shall, as a condition of his admission to the Madrissa, study *English* directly he joins the Institution." Besides the foundation scholars, there are 50 to 100 out-door students, not borne on the rolls of the college, attending lectures free of expense.

the *Elphinstone* Institution of Bombay, the course of study was stated to be 'equal in extent to a course for a degree in an English university.'"

With regard to the study of Arabic, Mr. *Warren Hastings* established the Calcutta Madrissa, (1780,) for the study of *Arabic*, and not for *English* learning. The object was to educate learned persons who shall be able to keep up a knowledge of an ancient language. The advantage of a *Sanscrit* college is obviously of more importance, as the religion and laws of nearly 100,000,000 of Hindoos are contained in Sanscrit works, some of which are as old as the Pentateuch. Mr. *H. H. Wilson*[1], Professor of Sanscrit, on the 15th January, 1853, gave a lecture at the Royal Asiatic Society upon the subject of the *Vedas*, and stated that *Suttee* was not a religious rite among the Hindoos. It is clear that if such passages as relate to the religion of the Hindoos be attentively examined by Native and European scholars[2] in the original Sanscrit, the truth will be arrived at; and then, by publishing in the vernacular or Native languages, you can prove that *Brahmins* have misled the Hindoos. The same argument will hold good with regard to the Arabic. As it requires seven years to acquire a good knowledge of Arabic, or of the Sanscrit languages, I think English should not be *forced* on the students in either of the colleges. The best Sanscrit scholar from Hayleybury is not the most likely to be the best administrator, or public servant of the government. Be it remembered, that the 43rd section of the Act of 1813 relates, prominently, to the "*Revival and Improvement of Literature, and the Encouragement of the learned Natives of India.*" A little learning may be a dangerous thing, but ignorance is worse. You must always have some learned men; but too many learned men would ruin any public office, and make bad cities, and worse public officers.

Mr. *Jonathan Duncan* established a *Sanscrit* College at Benares, in 1794[3]. The Calcutta Sanscrit College was established in 1824. The college at Agra (1824) had for its object, instruction in the general purposes of business and life—the Persian, Arabic, Hindee, Sanscrit, and English languages. But some changes have taken place. For general purposes of education for the millions of India, the plan adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces (*the Hon. James Thomason*) is the best. He has established schools eminently calculated for useful instruction in the affairs of life—such as keeping accounts regarding their

[1] See under the head of Suttee.

[2] The French and Germans excel us in a knowledge of the Oriental languages, and admitted by Professor *Wilson* as to *Sanscrit* learning.

[3] C. Lushington, p. 124, and Appendix 28. The Delhi College teaches the Oriental and English languages. Mohun Lal was educated there. The Calcutta Hindu college is a good institution.

villages, agricultural pursuits, and other similar useful knowledge. They learn to read and write, etc.

The Hindu (or Anglo-Indian) College in Calcutta, is a very excellent institution; and many of its students have become the uncovenanted servants of government. They learn English there. But the Bishop's College,[1] of which the foundation was laid on the 15th Dec. 1820, is for missionary purposes. One or two of the Bengal Chaplains were educated there. The students may be Europeans as well as Natives of India. The late Professor (Rev. *Mr. Street*), told me, in 1849, that the college could not supply a sufficient number of young men to be sent out yearly, as Native missionaries. He said conversion would be best accomplished by that agency. There should be smaller, but similar, establishments at Madras and Bombay; for the Calcutta College has to supply all India. The apostles were themselves Jews—so must Hindu converts preach the gospel to their unconverted brethren. The Missionary Societies of England,[2] supply funds; but the Government do not do so; and the Government have always professed to be neutral. The Native Missionaries are sent to different parts of India; we should increase and multiply them. They are the best instructors.

Professor *H. H. Wilson*,[3] says, "the latest reports from the North West Provinces show, that the demand for the *English* language is extremely limited; while that for useful knowledge, diffused through numerous publications in the spoken languages, is rapidly augmenting."

The natives of Madras,[4] in their petition, say, "that your petitioners cannot avoid remarking, that the desire of the Madras Government, with regard to rendering the educational funds committed to its trust subservient to the purposes of proselytism, is of some standing." The Marquis of *Tweeddale*, while entertaining the proposition of the Council of Education, to adopt the Bible as a *Class-book*, recorded his approbation of the measure, observing, in a minute dated the 24th of August, 1846,—"the value of a religious and practical education, to fit our countrymen for the various duties of life, has been established beyond all doubt." If the Council of Education made such a proposition, they must have been ignorant of the fact, that in the National Schools in *Ireland*, where both Roman Catholics and Protestants are educated, the Bible is *not* allowed to be a "*Class-book*." These Indian schools are composed of both Mohammedans and Hindoos. We do not do these things in *Bengal;* and I believe not at *Bombay*.

Let us hear Lord *Hardinge*.[5] Mr. Campbell says, "Lord

[1] Lushington, p. 107.
[2] First established in 1794.
[3] British India, vol. 9, p. 308, note 1.
[4] Petition of the Madras Native Association, para. 86.
[5] Campbell's Modern India, p. 198. My *Italics*.

Hardinge distinguished himself by a declaration, for the encouragement of education in the Government colleges, that proficiency should lead to employment in the *service of Government, which has not been and cannot be carried out, simply because a business education is not given in those colleges,* and the efficient service of government cannot be sacrificed to the gratification of literary fancies. A young Hindu may know *Milton* by heart, and yet not be fit for the charge of a police station." By teaching a man knowledge to a great degree beyond the requirements of his station in life, you make him unfit for his office; because his mind is always looking to some object *above* and *beyond* the work required by his duty.

This is a defect in the education of the Natives of India. It is very true, that at the Hindu College of Calcutta, at the Delhi and Agra institutions, at the Elphinstone College at Bombay, and at the Madras University, etc., young men can obtain a very good education; but there are some talented young men who might with advantage be sent to *England,* particularly those intended for the *judicial* department. In the year 1846, two superior medical students came to England, for medical education in London, under the charge of Dr. *H. H. Goodeve,* of the Bengal establishment. These young men had been educated at the Calcutta Medical College. They took high degrees, and passed with great credit;[1] and on their return to India, one was employed as a teacher at the Calcutta Medical College; and the other became a sub-assistant surgeon, in an independent position. Upon the same principle, the sons of respectable Native gentlemen might be sent to England to be educated, for the purpose of studying law, and the mode of conducting judicial proceedings. There is no doubt that the study of law, properly conducted, is of the very first consequence, with regard to all employment of a *judicial, political, diplomatic, or administrative* character. Natives have now to try civil causes in cases where the sums sought to be recovered are twenty times greater than in our County Courts; indeed, they can try causes to any amount—subject to an appeal.

It might be desirable, on public grounds, to try the experiments on a small scale, and to take steps to induce the Native gentry to send their sons to England. Now, it is a fact, that a great proportion of the appointments of Principal Suddeer, Ameen, etc.,[2] or uncovenanted civil servants, are *Mohammedans.* Some are of opinion that they are best qualified for *judicial* offices; while the *Hindoos* are considered, by the same authority, as best suited for *revenue* accounts, etc.

[1] One took the degree of M.D., and F.R.C.S.

[2] Some are Europeans, others Mohammedans and Hindoos. Taking eight Hindoos to one Mohammedan, the latter have five or six times beyond their share of appointments.

There might (it has been suggested to me) be a college department at *Hayleybury* for these young men. That if the writers at the above college were to be selected for the judicial department in this country—they might, by remaining two years longer in England, and by attending the Courts of Law—civil and criminal—become well qualified for the duties of the judicial department in India. The Mohammedans would not object to the voyage to England. There is nothing like the practical experience of a court,[1] where prisoners are tried for various crimes and offences—conducted by able counsel, with a jury, and an able judge. The Native students should be capable of reading and writing English before they left India.

We have Medical Colleges at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, besides public dispensaries at the presidencies in various places—but there are at least nine-tenths of the people who have no medical aid whatever. In Bengal, we might have medical depots at *Benares, Agra, Delhi*, etc., and at their dependent stations, etc. The students might be, at first, instructed in their own language—and be taught sufficient to be able to render medical assistance to the many *millions* of people, of whom *thousands* die yearly, owing to not having medical aid and medicines, etc. The *Mesmeric* Hospital in Calcutta is now a private one—except that Government assign a surgeon, and some instruments for surgical operations. I proposed a plan, in 1840, for the introduction of medical depôts, and for the formation of various large stations—from which, by degrees, qualified Native doctors might be sent to large villages to practice. Every village pays for certain servants; but in the case of the proposed Native doctors, they should be paid so much half-yearly, or yearly.[2]

If the missionaries understood something of the healing art, they might do much good. We must attend to the diseases of the *body*, as well as to the state of the *souls* of the poor Natives of India. It is well known to all travellers, that in every country the physician is a favoured guest. Indeed, the East India Company owed much to the services of medical men, who, by curing an emperor on one occasion, and an emperor's daughter on another, obtained for the united Company, *free trade principles and privileges*.[3] In carrying out these medical depôts, let the European gentlemen, at stations, consult with the Natives of rank and wealth, as to the best means of arranging the plans. This is a point of political economy, as well as of *humanity*—as the wealth of a country consists greatly in the number of the *able* and *indus-*

[1] I found it a great advantage (when in England in 1824), to attend the trials at the Old Bailey Sessions, in preparing me for the duties of the Judge-Advocate General's Department.

[2] The medical men of Calcutta, etc., are usually paid by families yearly.

[3] The Prime Minister of the Emperor, as usual, levied a tax for himself.

trious inhabitants it possesses—and the greater the number of diseased inhabitants, the fewer there will be of the labouring classes. But we must, as Christians, take the higher ground of the duty imposed upon us, to do the greatest good to the greatest number of our fellow-subjects in India.

Mr. *Charles Hay Cameron*, in his address to Parliament, recently published,[1] says, "I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College at *Calcutta*. *Benares* is the great seat of Brahminical learning; *Delhi* of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit College at Benares, and the Mohammedan College at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough, in my opinion, for the Eastern languages." In 1824, the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy[2] wrote to the Governor-General, (Lord *Amherst*) "there are numerous professors of Sanscrit, in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language, as well as the other branches of literature, which are to be the object of the new seminary." I think we should retain the Sanscrit and Arabic Colleges, for the same reason that we have the Greek and Latin languages taught at our Universities. We require both European and Native Professors of the Eastern classical languages, that the former may translate the best works in those languages, and that the latter may be able fully to comprehend all points relating to the religious and social feelings of the natives of India. Mr. *H. H. Wilson*,[3] has been enabled to prove from the *Rig Veda*, or the inspired writings of the Hindoos, that there is mention made of the sacrifice of a *horse*, but none regarding the cremation of a *widow*, or *Suttee*. If we exhibit such a fact to the learned Brahmins, the sacrifice will be proved to the Hindoos not to be an injunction required by their sacred writings.

In the year 1849, the late Professor *Widemann* of Bishop's College, published a small grammar of *Hebrew*, for the instruction of the Native and other missionaries educated there. Every one knows the importance of the *Hebrew* language, for all the members of the Church of England—indeed, for all clerical men. At our universities there are professors, but it is understood that the classes are very small, and not well attended. In 1833, an American missionary, attached to the Loadianah[4] mission, showed me his Bible in three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and English. He said, "your chaplains do not learn Hebrew." This it is to be feared is too true. Chaplains sent to India should understand Hebrew. There is said to be a great connexion between Hebrew

[1] 1853, p. 79—Twelve years President of the Calcutta Council of Education, and of the Law Commission.
[2] Cameron, p. 85.
[3] Vide "*Suttee*," chapter 2.
[4] On the bank of the Sutlij (Punjab).

and Sanscrit. *Mr. Cameron*, says,[1] the Sanscrit colleges of Calcutta and Benares "will hardly emulate the fame of Bonn or of Paris." The late Major-General *Sir A. Galloway*, one of the Directors of the East India Company, translated works on the Mohammedan law, by which he rendered good service to the Government of Bengal. It will be quite sufficient to keep a limited number of paid students for the acquirement of Sanscrit and Arabic. Let any beyond that number study at their own expense.

Mr. Cameron[2] proposes that there should be four Universities in India. That at Calcutta to teach English and Bengali. That at Madras,[3] to teach English and Tamil. That at Bombay, to teach English and Marathi. That at Agra, to teach English and Hindustani.[4] He proposes a fifth at Ceylon, to teach English and Singhalese. Surely we should keep up a knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit, for the reasons before stated. The Persian language must be added. It is used in treaties, and in any intercourse with Persia, or Affghanistan. The Persian language is more simple than the Oordoo. The *Shahnamah* (or history of kings), does not contain a single Arabic word. It is pure Persian. The Bengali is spoken in Assam. The *Burmese* language, but little known, it will now become necessary to learn. In fact, a university which shall only teach *one* Oriental language, will be a very imperfect institution. With regard to *Mr. Cameron's* remarks as to the superior acquirements in *Sanscrit* at the Universities of *Bonn* and of *Paris*, it may be observed, that those professors commenced as *European* scholars to study *Oriental* languages, and that the knowledge of *Hebrew* and of *Greek*, is a stepping-stone towards the languages of the East. If we wish to raise the Natives to high official offices, we should encourage them to come to England, and to study at our schools, and some at the Universities. Indeed, there might be established an institution for the express object suggested.

Mr. Cameron[5] seems to be aware of the system adopted in our North West Provinces by the *Hon. Mr. James Thomason*, when he says:—"I strongly desire to see the Native youth distinguish themselves in all honourable ways: but I more strongly desire that our colleges should send forth *Zemindars capable of improving their own estates and the condition of their royots*," *etc.* In the North West Provinces this is done to a minor degree. If some wealthy Zemindars, etc., would send sons to England, this

[1] Page 64.
[2] Page 10.
[3] A University at Madras was formed ten or eleven years ago.
[4] Or Oordoo—a mixture of Hindi, Arabic and Persian, the court language of Delhi and Lucknow.
[5] Page 153; my *Italics*.

would be better accomplished. But even in England, it is said, the north and the south of the country vary in agricultural improvements—the former being considered the best—while in Scotland agriculture is superior to both.

I shall conclude with *Mr. Cameron's* observations as to religion.[1] "My own opinion is, that a government of Christians, undertaking to rule a multitude of nations professing the Hindu, Boodhist, and Mohammedan creeds, is strictly bound, as between its subjects and itself, not to assume the truth or falsehood of any religion. I can find, after much reflection, no other principle fit to be consistently acted upon throughout. Acting upon this principle, the government can recognise, as legitimate enterprises, attempts to convert any of its subjects from one faith to another, when carried on by missionaries, having themselves no connection with the state. But it cannot teach Christianity in its own colleges, as part of its general system of imperial education.[2] Napoleon I. well knew how to reconcile people of different religions. When the Roman Catholics of Paris complained of the disturbance caused by the bell of the Church of the Protestants tolling at the same hour, he told them he should decide speedily by ordering the Roman Catholics to toll their bell at ten, and the Protestants their bell at eleven o'clock in the day."[3]

[1] Page 149.

[2] Hence the Bible, as proposed at Madras, should not be a class-book in the public schools.

[3] *Dr. O'Meara*, or a Voice from St. Helena.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE absence of the Governor-General of India from Calcutta, since the year 1791, has been frequent, as will appear from the following statement.

Lord *Cornwallis*, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, went to Seringapatam in 1791, and was absent part of 1792, during the first siege.

The Earl of *Mornington* went to Madras in 1798, and was absent part of 1799, during the second siege of Seringapatam.

During the mutiny at Madras in 1809, Lord *Minto* went to Madras, and remained there part of 1810. In 1811 he went with the expedition to Java.

During the Pindaree and Mahratta war, the Marquis of *Hastings*, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, was with the army, and absent during part of the years 1817 and 1818.

In 1827, Lord *Amherst*, Governor-General, left Calcutta and visited the Upper Provinces.

Lord *W. Bentinck*, Governor-General, was absent from Calcutta during the years 1831, 1832 and 1833; and in 1834 he was again absent to the Eastward and at Ootacamund. He was Commander-in-Chief on the removal of *Sir E. Barnes* in 1833.

Lord *Auckland*, Governor-General, left Calcutta in May, 1837, and did not return to Calcutta till 1840.

Lord *Ellenborough*, Governor-General, left Calcutta, in April, 1842, and did not return to Calcutta till 1844.

Lord *Hardinge*, Governor-General, arrived on the 23rd of July, 1844, shortly after Lord *Ellenborough's* return to the Presidency. He went up the country in September, 1845, and did not return till the arrival of Lord *Dalhousie*, who landed on the 12th of January, 1848.

Lord *Dalhousie*, Governor-General, went up the country not long after his arrival at Calcutta, and returned to Calcutta in January, 1852.

Thus in fifteen years, or from 1837 to 1852, the Governors-General were absent from Calcutta for about ten years, or two-

thirds of the period. If we calculate from the year 1828, then the Governor-General has been absent during half his period of office from the seat of government. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that though the Governor-General may nominate a Deputy-Governor during his absence, still that it is proper to have a Governor for Bengal, and thus to give a permanent and fixed head of the Government, and thereby allowing the Governor-General to be absent without any injury to the public service. The Deputy-Governor is usually the senior[1] appointed, but it is desirable that there should be a Bengal Civil Servant regularly appointed as Governor of Bengal. The question as to patronage might be easily settled. The Governor-General should retain a certain portion as to the higher grades of appointments, and the Governor of Bengal should have the remainder. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces, has the patronage of all civil appointments, except of the Suddur Boards.[2] He ought to be the best judge of the merits of those serving under him. He has under his rule a population of 23,000,000 of people!

The Supreme Government now consist of

The Governor-General.
The Commander-in-Chief.
A Military Member.[3]
Two Civil Members.
The Legislative Councillor.

Total, six. I propose seven, by the addition of one Civil Member, having one from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The Governor of Bengal would be taken as it were from the Bengal council. The Governor of Bengal would require no councillor—and be *solus*, as is now the case in the North West Provinces. Madras and Bombay would get on very well with one member of council. This view of the case will be understood by stating that I propose that the Governments of Madras and Bombay should have *no political power!* Without going into Cases, it seems apparent that the decisions in the *Sattara* and *Baroda* instances, exhibit a mode of procedure and delay quite unsatisfactory.[4] Lord *Auckland*, it was mentioned to me, disapproved of some part of the conduct of the Bombay

[1] The Act, Section 69, only states the appointment of *a* Deputy-Governor.

[2] Or chiefs of the Suddur Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, and Suddur Revenue Boards.

[3] When Major-General, Sir *George Pollock*, left the Council as Military Member, from ill health, he was succeeded by Sir F. *Currie*, Bart. *He* was removed to be President of the Board of Administration in the Punjab, and Major-General Sir J. H. *Little*, G.C.B., became the Military Member on the 21st of February, 1848, so that, for about eleven months, there was no Military Member in the Supreme Council of India. Some say a *military* Member of Council is not a *necessary* member always.

[4] The Baroda Khutput Case has two Blue-Books of above 2,200 pages.

Government, but did not like to act, as it might lower the position of the minor Presidency. It is obvious that *all* the political residents should be only under the orders of the *Supreme* Government.[1]

The Baroda Case Blue-Book is so voluminous, that the only person who will benefit by its production, will be the printers. Once gain a member of council from each Presidency, and then you will have men who will understand the cases sent up to the Supreme Government, and be able to suggest any fresh evidence that may be required before the chief government shall be called upon to decide. These proposed members of the Supreme Council ought to be well-informed men, and to know everything regarding their own Presidency. Any Madras or Bombay cases should be first handed over to the member of *the* Presidency from which they came.

It is said that a certain Governor-General never read certain revenue papers:—which he did not understand, he said, but wrote "*seen*" in the margin. When Lord *Hastings* was Governor-General, he was also Commander-in-Chief in India. He made it a rule to read all the quarterly Stud Reports, which were very voluminous.[2] He read, or had read to him, all General Courts Martial.[3] It was impossible for any human being to do this, and also the duties of Governor-General of Bengal, and of Governor-General. He did not, at times, know the extent of his patronage as Commander-in-Chief and that as Governor-General, and had, sometimes, to issue an order as Governor-General, cancelling the appointment given as Commander-in-Chief.

The general opinion seems to be, that as the Governors of Madras and Bombay are mostly persons who have never been in India,[4] a council is required; but, surely with the Commander-in-Chief and one civil member, the duties may be carried on. But why are not company's servants more frequently made governors, and without reference to rank; and why are not the company's armies commanded by company's officers,[5] at least at one of the presidencies—and retaining the Commander-in-Chief-ship in India in the person of a Queen's general officer? Sir

[1] See the time of Rogonoth Rao and the Bengal and Bombay Government. *Mill's* India, vol. 3, p. 584.

[2] He began business at eight o'clock in the morning, before breakfast, and worked till dinner time.

[3] I once had to conduct a General Court Martial containing 700 pages of foolscap.

[4] The exceptions to the rule, are, The Hon. M. Elphinstone, Sir J. Malcolm, Sir T. Munro, and now, Sir H. Pottinger (whose time is nearly out), and Sir G. Clerk, K.C.B. (who left Bombay), and some few acting governors.

[5] The Court of Directors (about 1832) ordered a reply to the late Sir J. Bryant's Memorial per Mr. J. C. Melvill—"I am commanded to inform you that there is no regulation to prevent it."

George *Pollock*, Sir W. *Gilbert*, Sir J. H. *Littler*, and several of the Madras and Bombay generals would prove themselves to be well qualified.

There now exists three governments in India. Then there is a reference often to be made to the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control. The latter board clearly have too much power. It is stated that the Bombay Government required some war steamers, but the Board of Control and the Government of Bombay differed as to the point, whether they should be made of *iron* or of *wood*.[1] The government on the spot ought to be the best judges. Then again, some *nine* eighteen pounders were indented for—the Board of Control considered that *six* would be sufficient. The Court of Directors established a steam navy at Bombay, and certain of these vessels are employed to carry the mails from Bombay to Suez. It was desired to give the contract to the Oriental and Peninsular Company,[2] but Sir J. W. *Hogg* (then Deputy-chairman) pointed out that the proposed plan would oblige the East India Company to give pensions to the persons who would be discharged. The Indian navy is peculiarly fitted for its duties, and as surveys must for ever be continually made in the Indian seas, the crews being chiefly Natives of India, are better seamen for a hot climate.

If we regard the various duties required of a Governor-General of India, as a supervisor of the great machinery of the Government of British India, and that his presence may be demanded in various parts of India, it seems clear that the detail of a *single* government should devolve upon a governor, whose exclusive duties ought to be to pay attention to detail.[3] The celebrated case of Ragoba (Ragonaut Rao), and father of the late Peishwa (Bajirao), best exhibits the bad effect of allowing a minor presidency dealing with a great political question. There was a treaty with Ragoba by the Bombay Government.[4] The Bengal Government were adverse to the support proposed to be given to Ragoba. The Court of Directors approved of the support—desired the Bengal Government to furnish military aid. The Bombay Government did not wait till the Bengal force, under General *Goddard*,

[1] Late experiments have proved that *iron* steamers are worse than useless. The Admiralty are now aware of this costly fact.

[2] A plan of Sir C. Wood, as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[3] It is said that in the *Sattara* case, there was employed a person to inquire into the affair at Sattara; then all the Bombay members of council made minutes—next the Government made a conjoint minute—then Lord *Auckland*, and all the members of the Supreme Council made minutes—lastly the supreme government made a report—home it came—then the Directors of the East India Company made minutes—then reaching the Board of Control, minutes were made—Proprietors made speeches—lastly, the question came before Parliament!!!

[4] See Mill's British India, vol. i. pp. 606 to 621; and vol. 4, p. 38, 42, and 44.

arrived, and the Bombay army was obliged to sign a disgraceful treaty.[1] *Mr. Hastings* should have governed the whole proceedings.

There should be no political power either at *Madras* or at *Bombay*. The supreme government should decide all points referred to it by any resident. Let the supreme government decide upon all expenses as to improvements at *Madras* or *Bombay*, and let it be conceded, whether Madras, etc.,[2] has a surplus revenue or not. If required, the improvements should take place—the Madras councillor in the supreme council, should be able, etc., to work out the required information, and explanations should be called for and be fully given.

[1] See my *Political* and *Military* events in India, vol. 1, p. 76, (1852), to place Ragoba on the Musnud at Poona, as Peshwa.

[2] At Madras, they are not allowed, (unless they can supply Bengal with 50 Lakhs Rs.,) to make certain works.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF IN THE INDIAN ARMIES.

It has been truly remarked by many talented officers, that no general officers should be sent to India to command the armies in that country who have not previously served in India. Another proposition seems to be based upon correct principles—that no officer should be appointed to the general staff of the army who has attained an age beyond that of sixty or sixty-five years. As, except eight or nine corps, almost every Queen's Infantry regiment has served in India, there must be the means, it is to be supposed, of carrying out the proposed plan. It would likewise be an advantage in having aide-de-camps who have served in India. It would be of great use to allow each Commander-in-Chief, and each general officer, (Queen's or Company's,) to have a Native aide-de-camp—not only as affording a reward to meritorious Native officers, but as enabling general officers to obtain information. The great Duke of *Wellington* had such an officer, whom he employed to negotiate with Holkar shortly before the battle of Assye.

Sir J. *Malcolm* strongly recommended these appointments to the authorities. The Governor-General of India has a Native aide-de-camp. The Natives are proud of such a distinction. A Native aide-de-camp could always know if anything wrong was going on among the troops. During the Sikh War, a Moonshee belonging to one of the Native corps had entered into a plot with certain Mohammedans in the city of Patna. Some one in the regiment gained intelligence of the affair, and reported it. A Native aide-de-camp would have soon found out the plot, whereas the discovery was quite accidental,[1] and is often made when those concerned quarrel among themselves. At Madras and Bombay, officers are rewarded by being made Killedars of hill forts. We have no hill-forts in Bengal; but there are forts such as Kangra

[1] The plot was imputed to the Goorkhas, but Jung Behadoor never peached. Some letters were found at Kathmandoo, the capital of Nipal, but the writers were not found out.

in the Punjab, at Attock and Rhotas, near the Jhelum river. Before the battle of Assye, Sir Arthur *Wellesley* sent a letter to Holkar,[1] and wrote, "I send this letter in charge of *Kawder Nawaz Khan*, a respectable officer, who enjoys my confidence, and who will explain anything you desire to know respecting my wishes." The object was to prevent Holkar's joining the confederates at the battle of Assye. Of course these Native aide-de-camps should be able to read and write.

[1] Jeswunt Rao Holkar Despatches, vol. 2, p. 95, 16th of July, 1803.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMISSIONS OF THE OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

THE commissions of the officers in the Company's army are, legally speaking, valid "in the East Indies only." The Queen's commissions for Company's officers use the words, "*unless transferred to Her Majesty's Service;*" so that Colonel A. in the East Indies is only in the United Kingdom Mr. A., though he is, by courtesy, received at court by her Majesty as Colonel A. The holding any rank in the United Kingdom does not enable such officer to assume any command; for no officer can exercise any authority till posted to a regiment. Even a Queen's officer going from India to England on furlough, cannot assume any command, because he is away from his regiment. The officer on half-pay must be put on full pay, and be posted to a corps, before he can exercise command. Of course, officers who are unattached have no command; it is a mode of obtaining advanced rank without joining a corps. Sometimes Captain A. is gazetted as Major and Lieutenant-Colonel in the same Gazette.

CHAPTER VII.

PENSIONS FOR LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Owing to the want of due promotion in the Indian army, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with their well-known and duly-appreciated liberality, granted pensions to their officers for length of service. In 1832, Lord *W. Bentinck* (through my friend, Col. *Benson*, his military secretary) did me the honor to request me to prepare a scale of pensions. I proposed as follows:—

After 22 years' service	£300[1]
To add £25 for every year for the next eight ensuing years of service in India	200
	£500

The maximum service in India ..... 30 years.

The pensions now granted are as follows:—

That of Captain, after 20 years, if not regimentally promoted	£192
That of Major, after 24 years	292
That of Lieut.-Colonel, after 28 years	365
That of Colonel, after 32 years	456

My plan was to give £25 for each full year served; so that if an officer could only serve twenty-three years, he would have received £325, while, under the present plan, he can get no increase, unless he has served twenty-four years, or the full period of the four years assigned for each period of increase. I cannot say that my plan was submitted to the Court, but the variance is not great between the two as to the period of service, or as to the amount of pension[2]. In 1831, I had calculated that under the old system of two battalions and forty-five officers[3] in a regiment, and without any increase to the army, it would require fifty-three years to rise

[1] The Marquis Cornwallis had proposed £365.

[2] Col. *Benson* knew all about my plan.

[3] There are now twenty-four officers in a regiment of *one* battalion.

from tenth ensign to be Full Colonel of a regiment of Native Infantry. Mr. *Cabell*, of the Board of Control, in 1822, assured me that I was rather under the mark as to Bengal; for that he had found the period for all three armies to be fifty-two years. On the 1st May, 1824, each battalion was formed into a regiment, with a colonel to each; this increased the quickness of promotion to Colonel, and that rank is now obtained in about forty-four years. My object in introducing this chapter is to solicit the Honourable Court of Directors to grant to the officers, whosestate of health (duly certified) may not permit them to serve above one, two, or three years of the four years now required, hereafter, the pension of the next and superior rank, for the number of years they may have served in India.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NATIVE ARMY—CASTES—RECRUITING.

Mr. *Campbell*[1] says, as to the employment of Native officers in certain commands, *i. e.* in the *command* of companies, instead of being *attached* to Companies: "I am not yet prepared to say that we should trust to Natives the command of regiments; but as regards the command and officering of companies, I should say that the Natives are exceedingly competent."

There are about sixty-five corps of irregular cavalry and infantry in Bengal,[2] having only an European commanding officer, a second in command, and an adjutant; some have extra officers. Besides contingents, there are "*Punjab* and *Sikh*" corps, taken from the ranks of our old enemies. The 4th Sikh corps volunteered for Rangoon, and has done good service there. Now, in these corps, the companies, if detached (singly) must be commanded by Native officers. *Mohammed Issoof*, of Madras, commanded an independent corps of 2000 or 3000 men, and had some Europeans with his force. The Edinburgh Review (January, 1853) quoting, it would seem, from Lieutenant-General *Briggs*, of the Madras Army,[3] says, "the names of Mohammed Yusuf, Jemal, Sahib, and others, fill a page of history scarcely less memorable than that which sets forth exploits of our own *Ford, Calliaud* and *Coote*." Occasionally, indeed, though not always, there was attached to a battalion an European officer, well versed in the Native language, and capable of appreciating the Native character. But his duties were rather those of a Commissioner or Field-deputy than of a Commandant; he explained to the Native chiefs the orders of the general, but took no part at all in the arrangements necessary for carrying them into effect. "The first marked change in the organization of the Native army occurred in the year 1766." Mohammed Yusuf, etc. were of a prior and later date. The

[1] "India, as it may be," (1853) p. 355.

[2] Twelve corps in the Nizam's army, and about fifteen at Bombay. The total in India, 92 corps.

[3] Page 204.

Madras Government did not behave well to him, and he then became their enemy.

One of the best proofs of what may be done by troops commanded by Natives alone, will be found in the result of the Sikh battles of 1845-6 and 1848-49.[1] We lost in officers and men 10,788, and 1,899 horses. Runjeet Sing employed European officers to *drill* his corps, but never tried to officer his regiments with Europeans, as was done by Sindiah, Holkar, the Nizam, etc. In the war of 1803, the Marquis *Wellesley* brought over the (English) European officers by pensions, and most of the French, etc., left the Native chiefs. Runjeet knew this, and except on rare occasions, did not allow the European officers to *command.*

Lord *Lake's secret* letter to the Marquis *Wellesley*,[2] dated the 2nd of November, 1803, from Laswary, states that all "the Sepoys of the enemy, behaved exceedingly well, and if they had been *commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful.*" So long as we are just to the Native troops, they will always not only behave well, but be faithful—*but we must not interfere with their religious prejudices, even by a side-wind,* or by any philosophical, or philanthropical, or other notion about conversion—we must proceed with caution in India.

Mr. *Campbell*[3] would put a majority of Native regiments on the footing of the present irregular corps, as a great saving to the state. The system has been carried out as far as prudence prescribes. I do not doubt the faithfulness of our Sepoys. I think we should have in our brigades on service, one European regiment to two of Native Infantry, in the same way that *Napoleon I.* had his Old and Young Guards. I should prefer regular corps to the Militia, and the Militia to volunteers. You must always have grades in your troops. In the revolutionary war of last century, conscripts were often put in advance.

In the Madras and Bombay armies the Subadars and Jemadars are in three classes. I should propose the same system for the Bengal army. I would not promote by seniority, as a rule—nor at all if there was any unfitness. If the third class was unfit, I would not promote to the second; nor the second class to the first class. Each superior class has an increase of pay.

There have been various opinions as to the castes which ought to compose the Native Infantry corps. The Court of Directors, in their letter to Bengal in 1772, wrote that they were of opinion that there should be half Mohammedans and half Gentoos, so as to excite a feeling of pride between the two castes. I will give Colonel *Syke's* (East India Director) statement as to castes.

[1] See my Political and Military Events, vol. 2, pages 273 to 328.
[2] Despatches, vol. 3, p. 445. My *italics.*
[3] Page 356.

Castes in the Bengal Army (Infantry.)

Christians	1,076
Mohammedans	12,411[1]
Brahmins	24,849
Rajpoots	27,993
Hindoos (inferior castes)	13,920
Total	80,249

(1840-4.)—Madras Native Infantry.

Mohammedans	18,772
Other Castes	32,156
Total	50,928

The Bombay Native Infantry.

Christians	331
Jews	322
Mohammedans	2,993
Hindoos	26,024
Low Castes[2]	4,288
Parsees	12
Total	33,970

(1841-42.)—Madras Cavalry.

Mohammedans	3,123
Hindoos	499[3]
Total	3,622

(1832.)—*Bengal Native Cavalry.*

Mohammedans	2,088
Brahmins	1,132
Rajpoots	789
Other Hindoos	135
Total	4,144

32 more Mohammedans than Hindoos.

[1] I was informed in 1843, that the Bengal Sixth Native Infantry had 500 or 600 Mohammedans. There should never be more than one-third, in any Infantry corps, of Mohammedans.

[2] Explained to be such as watchmen, etc.

[3] Just enough to take regimental guards on Mohammedan festivals, etc.

Bengal Native Infantry.

Mohammedans	15½	P.C.[1]
Brahmins	31	ditto.
Rajpoots	35	ditto.
Other Hindoos	18½	ditto.
	100	

Bengal Cavalry and Infantry.

Regulars	84,393
Madras ditto	52,552
Bombay ditto	33,970[2]
Grand Total	170,915

I would check the excess of Mohammedans by a return made every now and then of the number in each corps. In Bengal there used to be a statement made every month. I am not certain as to Madras and Bombay. There has been an order issued with regard to the enlistment of Brahmins,[3] but they are far too numerous. I proposed in May, 1817, the formation of recruiting depôts, (not jobs of levies, when recruits were raised at railroad speed,[4]) and to obtain good men by proclamations at the kutcheree or office of the magistrates, and they were to be allowed to select any corps in which their relations might be, or as they might desire to do. The men were to be drilled, and ready to join corps in the cold or exercising season. This plan would be a check on the enlistment by corps, at present, of too many of any one caste. Besides, why should not there be a check over the commanding officer of corps in India. In Her Majesty's service, the commanding officer does not obtain a single recruit. An inspecting officer must pass all recruits. The European soldiers for the East India Company are raised by seven recruiting officers. There is an anecdote told about the old Duke of Wellington. The East India Company, one year, required but few men. It was proposed to raise the standard to five feet eight inches. His Grace would not allow of the Company's army getting better men than Her Majesty's service. There are a number of Her Majesty's recruiting officers in London for recruiting purposes.

I must here touch upon what is a flying rumour as to the amalgamation of the three armies into one. It would be a great

[1] My own calculation.

[2] Bombay 27th, 28th, and 29th, N. I. raised since.

[3] To be taken in small numbers.

[4] In 1825, General Dick, Commanding at Dinapoor, told me he discharged 150 bad men in one day.

fact, to form 155 *regular* Native Infantry regiments into one army —but nothing could be more unwise than such an Act. Suppose a sepoy enlisted in the upper provinces of India (Bengal), to be sent to Bombay with his regiment away from his home. There would be 155 lieutenant-colonels and 155 majors; so that there would be constant removals of officers from all grades, from the ensign to the colonel. This was felt in 1796, when *regimental* rank superseded *army* or seniority rank. All the arguments, *pro* and *con*, were stated in 1813 in the blue-books, containing the evidence of a dozen officers—the majority ignored the measure. The composition of the three armies, as exhibited above, will of itself, prove a satisfactory reply to such a renewed proposition.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REGULAR NATIVE CAVALRY.

THERE are twenty-one regiments of Regular Native Cavalry in the three presidencies,[1] of about 500 men each. It has been stated that it would be a great improvement if the regular cavalry were armed in a different manner, and more after the manner of the irregular horse. It is objected, that the English sword is not so good as the Native Tulwar. In the Sindh horse they have a Tulwar made in England.[2] The English saddle is not considered by many to be the proper thing for the Native horseman. They are accustomed in the Irregular Cavalry to use the Native saddle with shorter stirrups. The Native bit is much more powerful than that used by our regular cavalry. The Bengal 4th, and the Bombay 1st Light Cavalry are armed as Lancers. Her Majesty's 16th Lancers at the battle of Aliwal, it is said, did not find the lances answer. They tried the Sikh squares, and some few succeeded. Marshal *Marmont* said, that there should be heavy and light Lancers—the latter for skirmishing. The late Colonel *Cureton* (of the 16th Lancers) said that Lancers should never be used in less numbers than a squadron. At *Aliwal* they attempted the Sikh squares in smaller parties, and failed. The Native Horse of India use a long spear, longer than our lances. The Native horsemen has a quilted jacket, has a match-lock, and uses a Tulwar. It would be a great improvement were our regular Cavalry to have a saddle covered with cloth, with shorter stirrups, by which a man can rise better to make a cut at his enemy; and that pistols were put aside, and each trooper to have a carbine.[3] The rifle is not so easily used as the pistol, which is more at hand, but less efficacious. The services of the Irregular Cavalry

[1] In Bengal there are eighteen corps of irregular horse, two at Gwalior, five in the Punjab. At Madras, five for the Nizam's army, and five corps at Bombay—total, thirty-five corps, of about 600 men each corps; some few have less.

[2] By Mr. Garden, of Piccadilly.

[3] The Dragoons of olden times, (Marlborough, etc.) had all carbines, and could dismount, and attack an entrenchment, as Lord *J. Hay* did at Schellenburg in 1704, under the Duke of Marlborough.

are invaluable, and they have only three European officers in each corps.

Mr. *T. C. Robertson*,[1] says, "The irregular corps were, a quarter of a century since filled with the descendants of the decayed nobility and gentry of Upper India, both Mussulman and Hindu; men who shrank from the European dress and drill of our regular cavalry, yet were constrained, by the prejudices or feelings of caste and family, to seek for their livelihood in the profession of arms." The Rajpoots (in Rajpootana) in former days were the best and most powerful cavalry in India. The Candahar Horse used to be celebrated, but *Gardner's* Horse (above alluded to) and *Skinner's* were the *élite* of all the mounted troops in India. The Boondelas (Bundelkund) and other tribes did not like to enter our Infantry service, (nor do the Arabs) on account of the severity of our discipline.

It is a well known fact, that the Native officers and men of the Bengal Regular Cavalry, are not of such a good description of men as those of the Irregular Cavalry. In many corps of the latter, there are always plenty of men to fill vacancies. In the Madras army the Native Cavalry are recruited chiefly from Arcot. It is the oldest Native Cavalry in India. The Bombay Native Cavalry is composed of smaller men. It was first raised in 1817.

[1] Political incidents of the first Burmese war (1853), p. 90.

CHAPTER X.

STUDS FOR HORSE ARTILLERY AND CAVALRY HORSES.

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining the required number of horses for the regular Cavalry, European and Native, it was found that the old Board of Superintendence of 1794,[1] in Bengal, did not answer, nor could the various agents for Cavalry horses procure the number. The unsettled state of Affghanistan caused the arrival of Persian and Northern horses to be few in numbers. In 1808,[2] Mr. *Moorcroft* was appointed superintendent of the stud near Poosa. The army has been much increased since, so as to require several studs. For the Bengal Horse Artillery, horse-field batteries, Dragoons, and regular Native Cavalry, etc., there are about 8,500 horses wanted;[3] the annual remounts are about 850, or 10 per cent. *Sir Walter Gilbert* was ordered to report on the studs of Bengal. It was supposed that he objected to their continuance as a public establishment. Now, this remount of 10 per cent. does not include casualties by wars: and in the Sikh battles from 18th of December, 1845, to 10th of February, 1846; and from 23rd of November, 1848, to 21st of February, 1849—the loss in horses, killed and wounded, amounted to 1899[4] in about six months operations—or about 18 per cent., besides the usual casualties from age, disease, etc.

If the studs were abolished, it would be necessary to depend upon Native breeders, or to import from Australia, or from the Cape of Good Hope, etc. For all India, about 1,800 remounts would be yearly required. In case of a war in Europe there might be a difficulty in importing horses. Ships in the war with France were captured off the land heads, from the years 1800[5] to 1809. Another point is, whether horses bred in a warm climate

[1] Henley's Military Regulations, p. 276.
[2] L.C.D., 8th of April, 1808.
[3] For all India, for regulars, about 18,000 horses.
[4] My *Political* and *Military* Events, vol. 2, p. 328, (1853).
[5] The Navy in the Indian Seas has been always too small to protect the Commerce of India.

are not best adapted for India. I have seen a statement giving the cost of stud horses at 600 to 650 Rs. in the Parliamentary Papers—£60 or £65 is a high figure. A better arrangement ought to correct that evil. I am assured by a Cavalry officer, well qualified to know much about the studs, that the existence of the studs has very much improved the condition of the villages near where they are located. The difficulty of the passage from Australia has been urged as a great objection. Others object to the Australian horses, that they are better adapted for Artillery than for the Dragoons or Native Cavalry. The Cape horses are considered better. Now, there might be a breed, in India, from either description of horse, and thus give an acclimated animal, so as to work well in India. Supposing horses, fit, could be imported at £10 less cost than stud horses—thus, 1,800 remounts less £10, would be £18,000. Then, conveying them up to regiments, 600 or more miles,[1] would be an extra cost. The numerous corps of Irregular Cavalry in India are not supplied with horses from the studs. Any moderate saving in the cost of horses for the regular mounted troops, would be of no consequence compared with the probable want and delay in procuring horses from distant countries in time of war. It is something upon the same principle as the nature of contracts. That contract is not the cheapest which is lowest in charges; but the contract which can be carried out, *certainly*, with the least cost.

[1] Cawnpoor is 680 miles from Calcutta, the nearest Cavalry station.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ARTILLERY.

THE artillery is the most powerful arm in the Indian army. At the battle of Ferozshah, on the 21st and 22nd of December, 1845, we lost 2,419 officers and men, and 507 horse killed and wounded.[1] At the battle of *Goojrat*, on the 21st of February, 1849, we had only 807 officers and men, and 230 horses killed and wounded. The Sikh artillery was superior to ours at Ferozshah. At *Goojrat*, we were superior to the Sikhs in artillery, and used some powerful batteries of eighteen pounders. The battle of *Portonovo*, (1st of July, 1781,) most resembled that of Goojrat.[2] "As soon as the second line had formed, *Sir Eyre Coote* gave orders to advance, and to open all the guns. *Their fire was so heavy, that nothing could stand before it.*" He had about 8,000 men, (1,700 Europeans and 800 Native cavalry included,) and nearly *sixty guns*[3]—chiefly field guns. Here, as at *Goojrat*, the artillery was the chief cause of the victory.

In the Bengal Horse Artillery they have *all* six pounders, except four nine-pounders in one troop. The Horse field-batteries have *all* nine-pounders, except No. 3, which has six-pounders. The Madras and Bombay Artillery have six-pounders and twelve-inch howitzers, and the Horse-field batteries nine-pounders and twenty-four inch howitzers. The Bombay Artillery have five horse field-batteries, with nine-pounders, and four batteries with six-pounders.

The detachment system[4] is in fashion at Madras and Bombay, but not in Bengal. Now, though not an artillery officer, I would ask this question. Which is the best system? The answer should

[1] Political and Military Events, vol. 2, p. 328.

[2] Ditto, vol. 1, p. 120; my *Italics*.

[3] Ditto, p. 117. Wilk's South of India, vol. 2, p. 316, gives Hyder forty-seven long guns, and Coote fifty-five guns of lighter metal.

[4] Having more horses to protect themselves against Cavalry. One mode of defence is to form a square with the guns and waggons. On the march to Ghuznee, in July 1839, I saw one of the Bombay H. A. guns, with ten horses to pull up a steep hill.

decide, and all be made to follow one rule. The detachment system at Cabool in 1841-42, would have given more men to serve these guns. One artillery officer says,—"Have not *all*, but some on the detachment system, to be ready for service." This seems good. The expense is greater—the one system requires more horses, and the other less horses. An artillery officer, who commanded an eighteen-pound battery at *Goojrat* in 1849, says the effect of a field battery is greater in action than a troop of horse artillery; it is in the ratio of nine to six—the former have the larger guns, and can get up a trot of eight miles the hour if required. The Horse Artillery are to act with the Cavalry. The horse-field batteries seem to be best for service with the Infantry. Hyder Ali, and Sir E. *Coote* used twelve and eighteen pounders, brass guns. Why do *we* use *pop*-guns? The facts of history are stubborn things, but for a war now and then, we should, as to military officers, fall into a second childhood. *Napoleon* allowed three guns for each 1,000 men. Peter the Great introduced the Horse Artillery; Frederic the Great adopted the plan; the French took it up, and we followed it last. It has now been found out, that it is advisable to teach some men of each corps of Infantry the mode of exercising field-pieces.[1] It is by this plan that, in case of there being many artillerymen killed and wounded, their places can be supplied, or by which extra guns may be brought into action.

[1] At the Military Institution at Barrasat, near Calcutta, we, in 1806, were exercised at the two six-pounders of the Body Guard.—*Is this done at Addiscombe?*

CHAPTER XII.

MESSES.

THE object in having messes in all regiments is too self-evident to demand any explanation. They are socially speaking good, and politically wise. In the Royal Army all *must* belong to a mess.[1] The Court of Directors, in their letter of the 20th of April, 1803, regarding an allowance to the officer commanding a regiment,[2] wrote, "We see no reason why in our service, as in all others, the commanding officer should not live at the mess with his brother officers," etc. In my own regiment I found a mess when I joined it in 1807. There were then only a few in the service. The Commander-in-Chief in India last year published an order, calling upon commanding officers to ascertain the sentiments of officers on the subject of messes. The great majority, I believe, agreed to the proposition. This is not the mode of approaching these questions in the Royal Army. It is a singular fact (within my own knowledge), that in our campaign against Ghuznee and Cabool, Her Majesty's 16th Lancers broke up their mess. Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry kept up their mess. We had a staff mess for the Bengal column, so had the Bombay column. The 16th Lancers thought it would be impossible to keep up their mess.

A case took place in a regiment of Dragoons, in which one officer (who had been tried and reprimanded), was not on good terms with the rest of the officers in consequence of that trial. At the half-yearly inspection he presented a statement of grievances in regard to the conduct of the other officers towards him when they met on parade. The general officer asked his staff[3] what was to be done. It was stated that Lord *Cornwallis* had decided that while an officer was allowed to do duty, all officers must treat him with respect on parade. That unless the regiment

[1] The married men do, and on the occasion of regimental dinners to another corps, etc., pay their share of expense.

[2] Formerly 1,000 Rs. a month, in the *golden* days.

[3] I was Deputy-Judge Advocate General at the station, at the time, early in 1827.

were prepared with fresh charges against the officer, they must act up to this principle. The general officer reported the case to Lord *Combermere*, who wrote that if he heard anything more on the subject, he would write to the Horse Guards; when most probably a stoppage would be put to the promotion of the regiment.

If there be anything wrong in the conduct of an officer, it soon becomes known at the mess of his regiment. Every officer who has a proper pride, is anxious to render his conduct correct, and approved of by his brother officers. If anything should be mentioned to the disadvantage of a brother officer in his absence, his friend, (or chum,) is sure to tell him of it. Thus there is usually a social, and a sort of family party in a corps. The commanding officer is respected, but drops the official character, except something wrong takes place. Thus, by the Articles of War, any officer may (and the senior in particular) put another in arrest if a quarrel or high words take place at the mess-table. There is a president and vice-president appointed daily. The president is the usual person to keep order. It is considered not the etiquette to speak of the *shop*[1] at the mess. Political questions are not often much urged, so as to lead to quarrels. The Commander-in-Chief is not allowed to be criticised in a disrespectful manner. Discussions at messes have led to duels,[2] but should be instantly stopped. There are various Courts Martial proceedings regarding conduct at messes. I conceive that the commanding officer, even if a married man, should dine once a week at the mess, called the "public night;" and indeed, that *all* married officers should dine once or twice a month at the mess. In many messes they have a "*public night*," when ladies dine at the mess; and, in India, we used to have dancing after dinner. Thus you bring all belonging to the regiment together. There should be strict rules laid down. *Oblige* every officer to be a member of the mess.[3] Nothing adds so much to the respectability of a corps as a mess.

The conduct of an officer is better known at a mess than it can be in any club, and often better known than in his own family. An officer must always be on good behaviour at his own mess, or rather he must always be the same. He cannot speak to another officer to-day, and cut him to-morrow, without it being remarked by others, and *noticed by the officer in question*.

There is a billiard table, or tables, as the case may be—and

[1] Talk about Military Matters, or Regimental, etc. affairs.

[2] Recollect the fatal duel between Major *Campbell* and Captain *Boyd*, in Dublin, in 1803, at the mess. They ought to have been stopped by the president of the mess, or by the senior officers present at table.

[3] About forty or fifty years ago several officers lived by themselves, but often two or three lived together out of society. Some, though not living with a chum, did not live *alone*.

parties play at whist, etc. There should be a limit as to the amount played for. Smoking is not allowed by Her Majesty's regulations[1]. Nothing can support discipline better than the existence of a mess—the solitary system is bad. The clubs in London[2] are said to be unsocial, and that they draw married men from their homes—so some ladies assert; but the married men usually return to dinner, I find. I think once a month clubs should have ladies' parties — why not, when ladies dine at messes, allow of ladies' evening parties at clubs in London? There is a great advantage in having a mess. Officers who have to go on command can always get supplies from their mess. A mess, too, enables a regiment to invite the officers of a new corps coming into a garrison. It is the means, also, of keeping up an acquaintance with the officers of other corps at a cheap cost; also with the officers of the Queen's Army. When corps of other presidencies meet, then the officers become acquainted by means of a mess.

[1] The late Duke of Wellington prohibited smoking at the mess table. In India, some corps have a room attached for smoking. I have known young men quit early, and go to smoke at their quarters.

[2] I have not read the new work.

CHAPTER XIII.

FURLOUGH.

The Court of Directors, by letter dated 8th January, 1796, from which date regimental rank had effect, allowed the following proportions of officers to be on furlough:—

Lieut.-Colonels and Majors	One-third.
Captains and Surgeons	One-fourth.
Subalterns and Assistant-Surgeons	One-sixth.

There were in 1853[1]:—

Lieut.-Colonels and Majors in the East India Company's Army	440
Ditto, Captains and Surgeons	1503
Ditto, Subalterns and Assistant-Surgeons	3882

		On furlough, 1853.	1852.
Proportion of Lieut.-Colonels and Majors, allowed	146	63	71
Ditto, Captains and Surgeons	375	178	188
Ditto, Subalterns and Assistant-Surgeons	647	364	433
	1168	605	692[2]

There are only a little more than half of those who might take their furlough do avail themselves of the privilege! and in the above number, officers on sick leave to Europe are included. I found in my researches, that in 1852, there were:—

	F. O.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Total.
Bengal	30	75	166	271
Madras	24	61	158	243
Bombay	17	52	109	178
				692

[1] East India Register, for 1853.

[2] Ditto for 1852. The war in Burmah accounts for the less number in 1853.

In 1832, from Bengal on Furlough	.....	218
,, Madras ,,	.....	244
,, Bombay ,,	.....	131
		593[1]

Furloughs have increased beyond the proportional increase of officers, but the greatest increase has been in *sick* furloughs—officers more frequently coming to England sick than formerly. The extra furloughs may be imputed to the ready means of short trips by the steamers. In 1852, there were 621 officers, military and medical, absent from regiments doing duty with irregular corps, staff, etc. There are 1168[2] officers and medical men allowed to be on furlough—only 605 on furlough now, and there are 1226 absent on all accounts, so that there are only fifty-eight more than are entitled to be on furlough absent from corps; therefore, including sick furlough, the furloughs to Europe are very moderate indeed. The civil servants desire that they should be allowed to be absent in England, etc., upon the same principle as governs absence on sick leave to the Cape of Good Hope, to Australia, China, etc., by being allowed to retain their appointments, and a certain portion of the Indian allowances. Many officers in the army wish to have the same indulgence; the argument is, that they can return (if wanted) to India, as soon from England as from the Cape, and sooner, if to return from Australia. It may sometimes be a hardship to vacate an appointment when sickness drives a servant from India. It may also be desirable that a good staff-officer should not be lost to the state. As a *general* rule, it would not be approved of, that the holder of a staff appointment should retain it when absent from India; but there may be cases where it might be an advantage to Government to retain such officer's services. The absentee loses so much of his allowances when he goes to the Cape, etc. When he goes on furlough to England, he only gets *English* pay. This rule cannot be altered when officers come to England, when the officer is a *regimental* officer. If a *staff* officer is in question, and he gets £20 a month *staff* allowance in India, it does not affect the public purse if he were to get £10, and the acting staff officer were to get the other £10. The general argument is, that the absentee, by retaining his appointment, deprives another of an appointment. *The interest of the service should guide the rule in these cases.* But, that an officer, after ten years[3], might take part of his three years'

[1] Since 1832, three European regiments equal to six Native corps in officers, and three corps Native Infantry have been raised, and three officers added to each Infantry corps, and some to other corps.

[2] Colonels are not included.

[3] Some propose to take furlough after seven years—too soon, I think.

furlough then, and seven years afterwards, the rest of the allotted time, seems to be quite right and just. In the *Sikh* War, 1845-46, officers were sent out from England, to join their corps, and were told they might return, and have the rest of their time of furlough; this is not the *rule*, but the *exception*. A new rule is required. It is said the Court of Directors are well inclined to allow the retention of appointments by officers coming to England. It may, in many cases, be proper.

FURLOUGH.

There are some who do not view favourably the absence of the civil and military servants from India, and who think that when, say a civil servant, has been for several years in charge of a large district, it would be very desirable to retain his services. The same argument would equally apply to military officers. But, by permitting of the extension of the furlough privilege, and allowing officers to come to England on short furloughs, they can return to their duty improved in health, and with a great increase in the knowledge of their profession, by attending lectures on various subjects[1]. In various parts of India, professional books are not always to be met with. Perhaps it would be a good plan to encourage officers to visit *Addiscombe* at certain times, besides being present at the examinations[2]. The civil and military servants should have opportunities of attending the House of Commons and the courts of justice, and public institutions. An old Indian servant staying in India without visiting England, between the age of seventeen and forty-five years, loses all desire for improvement, and, in fact, becomes past teaching.

[1] The United Service Institution, and other societies in London.
[2] Which would very much improve the minds of young officers.

CHAPTER XIV.

COST OF WARS IN INDIA.

THE expenses of our wars in India has at last been stated. A despatch of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated the 3rd of June last (1852), states that the Burmese War of 1824-26, cost £15,000,000 and augmented the debt of India £13,500,000.[1] Mr. *Herries*, President of the Board of Control, on the 19th of April, 1852, said, "the War of *Affghanistan*, cost no less an amount than £10,000,000; there was then the War of *Scinde*, and the first and second wars of the Punjab; all these wars, according to the best accounts he could collect, had cost no less a sum, in the aggregate, than £36,000,000; £36,000,000, then, expended in war, accounted for the constantly recurring, and still, to a certain degree, existing deficiency in the revenue of India." "He found, indeed, that the debt at the latter point of time was greater by £20,000,000 than it was at the former; but then, on the other hand, £36,000,000 had been expended in the interval on wars alone. If then, only £20,000,000 of debt had been added, while there had been an extraordinary expenditure of £36,000,000, it followed that the Indian revenue had been so far buoyant as to meet £16,000,000 of this extraordinary expenditure.

If we were to assume the Burmese War of 1824-26, at £15,000,000, and add the £36,000,000, we then produce the sum total of £51,000,000. Mr. *Campbell*, says,[2] the East India Company's Debt is £45,640,028, including Indian debt, home bond debt, and the £12,000,000 of stock, for which he gives credit for £3,500,000,[3] leaving £8,500,000 as the sum unprovided for by the Guarantee Fund.[3] He allows of £11,042,455, for cash balances in India. Assuming these figures to be correct, we have, deducting

[1] Allen's Indian Mail, 29th October, 1852, p. 602.

[2] Modern India (1852), p. 418.

[3] Mr. Herries, or Earl Derby, (in 1852), said, the £2,000,000 of Guarantee Fund had produced £3,800,000 or £3,900,000. The Court in 1833, proposed £3,000,000 (p. 511, vol ix. Wilson's History of India), that would have given £12,000,000 in 1874.

£45,640,028 from £51,000,000, a balance in favour of the East India Company of £5,359,972, deducting the cost of wars. The £15,000,000 of the war with Burmah, should be charged with interest, so that war has cost much more, and interest must be added on the £36,000,000.

Let us reason the point. Let A, B, and C, represent Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Let us descend to three villages, or estates in England or Ireland. The farmer, having a lease, finds that he had a surplus. In after years, (say in Ireland), he finds the state of the country obliges him to keep watchmen, and that, instead of having a clear revenue from his farms, the cost of the watchmen place him in debt. Some money lenders say, very well, we will lend you money at 5 per cent.[1] After a certain term of years, his *friends*, think they see ruin in the whole affair —the accounts are produced, and they find a large debt—they refuse to renew the lease—though the farmer had no control over the state of the country.

Now, did all these wars originate with the East India Company? Certainly not. Sir *J. C. Hobhouse* (Lord *Broughton*), as regards the Affghan War, said in Parliament—"I did it." The Board of Control has the paternity of that war. Neither did the East India Company originate the war in Sindh. The Sikh War was caused by the Affghan War, so his lordship must take his share of that war, upon the principle of cause and effect.

Now, the inference I mean to draw from the above premises is as follows:—The United East India Company, have for above 100 years been trading with India, and since 1813 the trade of India has been open to all the Merchants of the United Kingdom and of the world; and that trade is increasing.[2] These wars have been the cause and means of the expansion of that trade; and the question is, whether the trade of India is worth the cost. Look at the national debt; it is seventeen or eighteen times greater than the Indian debt—caused by wars to support the country against enemies, and to promote the commerce and welfare of the United Kingdom. Where is the country in Europe without a debt? America had paid off her debt, but now, has a national debt. Debt is the rule with almost all nations—a country without a debt is the exception. Take the debt at £45,640,028[3] (though it is under £40,000,000, excluding the 8,500,000 now unprovided for Indian stock) and, for 100,000,000 of people, it amounts to nine shillings a head; our national debt would be about £25 a head. What will the Manchester school say to this?

We might ask, looking at the charters and statutes relating to

[1] I recollect the 10 per cent. loan, and there had been a 12 per cent. loan in India.

[2] See Table (A.) Appendix.

[3] Reducible partly under the Guarantee Fund.

the East India Company,[1] how much money the East India Company paid, at various times, for the renewal of their charters—how much they lost by sending out woollens, etc., at the rate of £400,000 a-year, and selling at a considerable loss. Would the Manchester merchants like such a result in their speculations. The Company's trading to *India* was a losing concern. Then in 1833, they lost the *China* trade, by which they gained; so that for twenty years they have lost a great profit, derived from China—which has affected the debt of the Company *quoad* that amount. The East India Company pay for above 20,000 Queen's troops, which would, otherwise, not have been required; they thus support so many officers, and men; and a portion of the Royal Navy.

When free trade first took place (1814), many persons were ruined by overstocking the market. When the river Indus was opened for the commercial enterprise of our spirited merchants, they looked to a large commerce with Central Asia; in this the Glasgow people took a prominent share. The mania of mercantile speculation went on for many years, till the commercial crisis of 1847 and 1848 sobered the minds of many. We are afraid that till the Peace Society send a commission to India to reclaim the Natives from their warlike propensities, we shall never be free from wars; and even Mr. *Cobden* must allow, that the present *Burmese* War, was undertaken for the commercial benefit of all traders. Savages must be treated as savages. We made a peace-offering in the shape of a letter. The king rejected the olive branch, and drew the sword of defiance. He is now a prisoner, and his brother has his safe keeping. That war cost £500,000 last year; time must show the ultimate cost. The Duke of *Wellington*, it is said, thought that war unavoidable.

But, if we examine the financial statement of India during the wars in that country, from 1799, we shall find loans of 12, 10, 8, 6, and 5 per cent., so that all the transactions in finance in India were saddled with a rate of interest double the amount paid in England during the war, and, in fact, thereby increased the cost of the Indian wars. The peculiar circumstances of those Indian wars were such, that an enormous interest was paid. Many who had retired fifty years ago found that a reduction of interest on Company's paper from 8 to 6 per cent. in Lord *Minto's* time (as Governor-General of India, or from 1808 to 1810) reduced one-fourth of their incomes. When we examine the national debt, (caused also by *wars*), we find that Mr. *Pitt* raised money during the war with France, by giving £100 stock for £60 paid, thus granting 5 per cent. for the latter sum. Indeed, I find that

[1] Published in 1817. See Geo. III., cap. 57. Geo. III., cap. 24. 19 Geo. III., cap. 61. 20 Geo. III., cap. 56. 22 Geo. III., cap. 51, and other Acts—and £400,000 said to be due for the China War—to the East India Company.

in 1797,[1] the 3 per cent. reduced were at 46¾, and the imperial 3 per cent. at so low a figure as 43⅞ per cent. in the month of May of that year. The loan borrowed that year,[2] was calculated at £6 15s. 0d. per cent. It is generally understood, that under Mr. *Pitt's* arrangement,[3] some £200,000,000 were lost by obtaining 3 per cent stock, by granting £100 for every £60 paid by the stockholder! Now, the East India Company have given small bonuses of 5 per cent. on 5 per cent. loans. The East India Company, in 1793, obtained an Act to transfer £5,000,000 of the £7,000,000 of the Indian debt to English funds, but it was never carried out; the object was to reduce the interest. If such derangement of the National funds was caused by the wars in Europe, it seems almost a wonder that India escaped with so small an amount of debt! The guarantee fund was recommended by the chairs (Messrs. *Marjoribanks* and *Wigram*), to be raised upon a capital of £3,000,000, for no ingenuity could, in forty years, have produced £12,000,000 upon one of £2,000,000. The commercial assets may have been unequal; but the money should have been raised to meet the difficulty.

In 1802, just before the Mahrattah War of Lord *Lake*, which was a war to prevent, in fact, the attempt of the Mahrattahs to destroy our power, so eminent was the danger conceived to be, that the Company's paper was at a discount of 36 per cent.![3] The danger was doubly eminent, because *M. Perron* had a disciplined army of nearly 50,000 men, and a splendid artillery. The danger was that *M. Perron* might have made himself paramount in the north-west of India, and have thus advanced the interests of France. Even in the Sikh War of 1845-46, the Sikh holders of Company's paper caused it to sell at a discount of 15 per cent.

There has always been a great difference between the wars undertaken in India and those which England has been engaged in. The *Edinburgh Review*, in 1818, truly said that the East India Company generally made their wars pay the expenses of conquest. That has been less so than formerly. But what conquest has the nation made which she retained at the end of the war in 1813? England was obliged to give up Java, the most profitable possession we then held: but of whose value the ministry was ignorant.[4]

It has often been stated, and is true, that the East India Company have many times sent out directions to India against making

[1] Annual Register, 1797. Appendix Chronicle, p. 162.

[2] Annual Register, History, p. 132.

[3] The wise among the civil and military servants bought up all the Paper they could, and made fortunes.

[4] Sir T. S. Raffles' Report on the productions were never opened till the fate of the island and its transfer to the Dutch had been decided upon.

territorial conquests. But the Company have no control over any such measures as wars; partly, because some of those wars have been undertaken on European principles of action; such as the expedition to *Egypt* in 1801; those against the islands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*, (1810), and of *Java*, (1811); the *Affghan War*, (1838-42), and the Expedition to China, (1840-42). In fact, the Company have even in *Persia* been obliged to take a part, and did for many years pay to Persia 200,000 *Tomauns*, (about £125,000,) and now pay for the Mission £12,000 a year. If the subsidy were paid from 1810 to 1828, (when it ceased,) then the Company paid £2,250,000 to Persia, while Russia now derives, without the cost, all the benefit of our costly payments. General *Sir De Lacy Evans* has written the best work about the invasion of India, and exhibits the true nature of such an operation. At all events, part of the East India Company's Indian debt must be debited to the head of "*Persia!*"

As to wars, peculiarly *Indian*, much is to be said on the score of necessity, (or *de necessitate rei*, as *Blackstone* calls it). If we only go back to the battle of Plassy, (1757,) we find that the Emperor at Delhi was a mere imperial pageant. The different princes and chiefs were battling for the fragments of the empire, and the Mahrattahs[1] reviving from their defeat, gradually formed a strong second party in the country. A third party consisted of the French. Now all these parties striving to become paramount, it was impossible for the English to remain in a passive state.

We were forced to act. Our supineness in doing justice to the Rajpoot states,[2] caused anarchy in the North West of India, and encouraged Runjeet Sing, from a petty chief, to make himself King of the Punjab. We, from being parties in the cause of the principal Native chiefs, found it impossible to avoid becoming principals in the wars. Where all were striving for the mastery, it was impossible to avoid collision. The state even of China *may* cause *European* interference. If *one* European power refused aid, *another* would undertake the task. The *French* took up the cause of *Persia*. We tried our hand, and now Russia has taken the lead.

It is said that these wars in India have prevented the execution of public works of importance, that if we were to retire from India to-morrow, we should leave behind no vestiges of any great public buildings. Mr. *T. C. Robertson*[3] writes:—"But it is always to be borne in mind, in drawing such conclusions from the great doings of ancient rulers, of whom no other record remains, that the power unscrupulously exercised by the monarchs of those

[1] Though severely defeated in 1761, at Pannipuk.

[2] Marquis Wellesley, in 1804-5, proposed to take them under our protection. It was deferred till 1818.

[3] Political incidents of the first Burmese War, (1833), p. 97; my *Italics*.

early days, at least in Asia and Africa, and *compelling the whole mass of their subjects to devote their labours* to the accomplishment of any favourite design, rendered it possible for a very feeble state to leave very bulky vestiges to excite the admiration and curiosity of succeeding generations. What ancient Egypt suffered that the Pyramids might rise, no one can tell; and who thinks now of the 30,000 men, women, and children, said to have perished, since this century commenced, to accelerate the excavation of the canal connecting the *Nile* with *Alexandria*? It may be doubted, therefore, whether the *walls of the Arracan*[1] can prove more for the ancient condition of that country, than the *Mulmoodee* canal does for the present prosperity of Egypt." There have been some good works made by the East India Company, but not by *forced labour*.[2] The East India Company have also guaranteed from 5 to 4½ per cent.[3] on some £3,000,000 for making railroads. Now this is not strictly required of the East India Company, as trustees for the crown. The *French* Government has a control over the railroads in France,[4] but the *English* Government is only just beginning to see that a committee is required to examine into our railroad affairs, on account of the very great number of accidents, which are a disgrace to the nation. The East India Company will, *eventually*, derive benefit from this outlay—in the meantime, a considerable and large sum of money must be yearly spent before there can be a railroad from Calcutta to the Punjab—the *ne plus ultra* of such a plan for years to come. Now, that all the commercial assets have been absorbed, the money must be taken from the fund, which would, otherwise, be much *surplus revenue*.

The *Aeen Akberee*,[5] which has been so much praised, contained the amount of revenue to be collected from each district, village, etc., but contemporary writers hint, that the collectors, while they paid the stipulated sums into the Royal Treasuries, took a certain per centage, for themselves.[6] Nor were the troops in the service of the Native Princes punctually, or always fully paid.

There is one failure in our warlike operations. We do not use "*Secret Service*" money in a sufficiently liberal way to ob-

[1] "Artificial mounds of earth, faced with stone; gigantic works of an earlier age."

[2] How was the Taj at Agra built?

[3] £2,000,000 in Bengal; £1,000,000 at 5 per cent., and £1,000,000 at 4½ per cent. Madras, £500,000 at 4½ per cent., and Bombay, £500,000 at 5 per cent. Total, £142,500 yearly interest.

[4] They regulate the speed. Mr. *Nasmyth*, the Civil Engineer, wrote the other day in the "Times," that thirty miles per hour ought to be the *maximum* speed. I hope the Indian railroads will be conducted on "*safe principles*."

[5] The Emperor Abker died at Agra in 1605, A.D.

[6] The number of Maunds, (82 lbs.,), and Seers, (about 2 lbs.), required to make each dish in the Royal Kitchen, are minutely detailed.

tain accurate and trust-worthy intelligence. Recent letters from Rangoon, etc., complain much of this.[1] In the Mahrattah War of 1817-18, the Natives (*Pindaries*) had a new method of sending news to each other regarding our movements against the *Pindaries*.[2] It would be very desirable to see more secret service money spent in obtaining true intelligence.

In answer to those who may only look at the question of the Indian Debt according to the amount of money raised by loans, it is necessary to state, that the first Burmese War (1824-26), is stated to have cost £15,000,000, and "augmented the debt of India £13,500,000." *Mr. Herries*, President of the Board of Control, on the 19th of April, 1852, said,[3]—"That the War of Affghanistan, cost £10,000,000; and that all the wars, in fact, from 1838 to 1849, had cost £36,000,000, but that only £20,000,000 of Debt had been added since 1833. This might lead some to suppose that only £33,500,000 had been expended in wars since the years 1824-26," (*Burmese War*). By examining *Spackman's* Statistical Tables,[4] we find as follow:—"That the wars of the United Kingdom from 1793 to 1815, or in twenty-one years, cost £1,623,000,000, or 77 $\frac{4}{7}$ millions a year, of which £1,034,000,000 were raised by *Taxes*, and £589,000,000 by Loans. Still the war cost £1,623,000,000, and so the Indian Debt cost £51,000,000 since 1824-26. We, in India, paid 17½ millions out of our revenue. In 1803 to 1815 (twelve years), our national wars cost 1,159 millions, or 96 $\frac{7}{12}$ millions a year, of which 770½ were raised by *Taxes*, and 388½ by *Loans*, but nearly two-thirds by taxes. In India we have not the same means of applying taxation, hence the amount raised by loans. Had all the war expenses of the nation been raised by *taxes*, we should not have had in 1843 a debt of 768 millions. In the nine years of war, (1793 to 1802), we spent 464 millions,[5] or 51⅝ millions a year! But instead of raising two-thirds by *taxes*, we only raised about 57 per cent. by taxes. In the war of 1775 to 1783, a cost of 136 millions in eight years, 104 millions were raised by *Loans!*

When a *war* terminates there is always some delay in reducing

[1] In 1781, General Sir Hector Munro gave two Star Pagodas, (16s.) to a man who brought important news about Colonel Baillie's force, soon after cut up. (See *Gleig's* Life of *Sir T. Munro*, formerly Governor of Madras.)

[2] By means of a "*Cocoa Nut.*" They cut off the top, inserted a slip of paper of news, and replaced the top cut off. Some officers found one by chance, and breaking it open, took out the news. This was facetiously called "*Milking the Cocoa Nut.*" These *Pindaries* were often called *Pins*, a cant phrase used by our officers. In the *West Indies*, the sailors used to fill the cocoa nuts with rum, and got them, so filled, on board ship. This was, also, called "*Milking the Cocoa Nut.*"

[3] "Times," 20th of April, 1852.

[4] For the year 1843, p. 89.

[5] 263½ raised by *Taxes*, and 200½ millions by *Loans*.

the army and the establishments to the peace establishment. It sometimes requires two or three years.[1]

Proposed surrender of Affghanistan to the British.[2] "*The Delhi Advertiser* states that, certain Sirdars, and other influential parties in Cabul, have forwarded a letter to Major *G. H. Macgregor*, now at Moorshedabad,[3] proposing to surrender Affghanistan into the hands of the British. They promise, moreover, to remain peaceable subjects, and it is said that they are tired of the '*organized anarchy*' which passes for government in Affghanistan. It is futile to reason upon the character of such a proposition until we know whether it has really been made, but the *Advertiser* adds a number of minute facts, which make us suspect that his intelligence is correct, as far as the despatch of the letter is concerned. The occurrence, if real, is a fair illustration of that moral influence which has done as much for the empire as the sword, and a sufficient answer to those who declare that our rule is detested wherever the inhabitants have sufficient spirit to wish for a change."

The Affghan war cost[4] £10,000,000. If Shah Soojah had been kept as king at Candahar instead of going to Cabool, he or his son might have been king at the former place, which would have well answered all British objects; as an invasion of India could be best defeated by Candahar being strongly occupied; and because a march to India, viâ Cabool, would cause a circuitous march of 318 miles,[5] and then a march through the Punjab and across the Sutlej, to India. The march from Candahar to Sukhur in Sindh, would be only 398 miles. That from Candahar, viâ Cabool, and through the Punjab to the left bank of the Sutlej, would be 858 miles. Had the proposed plan taken place, Dost Mahomed could not have taken Candahar, supposing it to be fortified, and the contingent to have been of its original strength.

[1] The evidence of Mr. J. C. Melvill, (1832), as to the reductions in 1829.

[2] Allen's Indian Mail, 29th of April, 1853, quoting from the Friend of India, 17th of March, 1853; my *Italics*.

[3] Governor-General's Agent there, and was at Jullalabad in 1841-42.

[4] Speech of Mr. Herries, President of the Board of Control on the 19th of April, 1852, in the House of Commons.

[5] See Hough's Campaign in Affghanistan, 1838-39, p. 431.

CHAPTER XV.

RANK OF CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVICES.

In the table of precedence in India, under the warrant dated 5th July, 1850, the Civil Servants are divided into six classes.

1st Class, of 35 years'	standing,	rank with	Major-generals.
2nd Class, of 20 years'	do.	do.	Colonels.
3rd Class, of 12 years'	do.	do.	Lieut.-Colonels.
4th Class, of 8 years'	do.	do.	Majors.
5th Class, of 4 years'	do.	do.	Captains.
6th Class, under 4 years,	do.	do.	Subalterns.

Advocates-General rank with Major-generals; Chaplains with Majors; Assistant Chaplains with Captains.

According to the table of the rate of promotion in India, it will appear that by seniority of promotion, the rank of Colonel would be obtained after about forty-four, that of Lieut-Colonel after thirty-two, and of Major after 29 years' service; and Captain after about sixteen years. Therefore, the above rank is too great for the Civil Service. I would assign to the

1st Class,	as it now stands.
2nd do.	after 30 years.
3rd do.	after 20 years.
4th do.	after 12 years.
5th do.	after 8 years.
6th do.	under 8 years.

In former days, all colonels ranked above all civil servants, which was preposterous.[1]

The Civil Service of India was very much increased since the year 1800.[2] There were :—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
In 1830	526	223	153	902 servants.
1834	527	116	160	803 do.
1853	492	188	126	806 do.

[1] Some officers were only Brevet-Majors (10th January, 1837), after thirty years' service, and only ranked with a civilian of eight years' standing.

[2] Formerly there were twenty in China, and sixteen at St. Helena.

I find by the East India Register for 1853, that there were military officers of the Company's armies in civil or political employment:—

In 1845, there were only	244
	172
Difference	72[1]

The annexation of *Sindh* and of the *Punjab* have caused the employment of *more* military officers; and, as it would appear, in some appointments formerly held by civil servants. The Civil Service of India consists of about ninety-six members less than in 1830, at which period it was of its greatest strength. The introduction, too, of a great many uncovenanted civil servants,[2] has supplied many appointments.

By the table of precedence, all civil and military officers take rank according to their rank in the service, except those who may have what is called "*Court Rank.*" Thus, a Lieutenant who should be a Baronet would take precedence of his Commanding-officer, who might be a Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, or Major. This table of precedence is in force at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. In the provinces, some think it doubtful if the table applies. In 1827, when Lord *Amherst* visited Cawnpoor, we had as stewards, to decide who was to be considered the lady who should have the patent of precedence, and to be handed to table by his lordship; one lady was the daughter of a bishop, another was the daughter of a baronet, and so forth. We represented to his lordship, through an aide-de-camp, our difficulty, stating that the General commanding the division, where his head-quarters were (Cawnpoor), was by most considered the greatest *man*, and his wife the greatest *lady*. His lordship intimated his intention to hand Mrs. S. (the said wife) to table. Now, the table of precedence should be made general for all places in India.

In 1813, the Earl of *Moira* arrived in India as Governor-General[3], to succeed Lord *Minto*. A farewell dinner was given by the well-known Prince of Merchants, Mr. *John Palmer*, at his own house, to Lord *Minto*. The latter was proceeding to hand Mrs. *Palmer* from the drawing-room to the dining-room, when the Earl of *Moira* said to Earl *Minto*—"By your leave, *Sir Knight, I must break a lance with you.*" Now, the party being given as a mark of respect to Lord *Minto*, it was generally thought in Calcutta, that he was the person entitled to hand the wife of the

[1] I omit the Medical Officers, as few hold any office which a civilian would usually be placed in.

[2] Some are Europeans, Eurasians, Mohammedans, and Hindoos. The Mohammedans have the greatest share of appointments among the Natives.

[3] At Madras, he thought he was to be received in the same style as the Viceroy in Ireland.

host. This was a *private*, and not a *public* party; nor does the table of precedence seem to apply.

Since the introduction of the military Orders of the Bath, G.C.B., K.C.B., and C.B., which now apply to both the civil and military services, some change seems necessary. The ladies of India, as well as those in the United Kingdom, have a partiality for the observance of the rank due to their husbands; for it is by that rule they themselves are governed. If a major should command his regiment, and there may be no other troops at the station or post, it might so happen that several civil servants may take precedence of the said major; and thus a lady, perhaps of forty years of age, may have two or more young ladies of twenty or twenty-one years of age, to take precedence of her. It is important that the table should be altered, so as to render the position of all parties in society more conformable to their respective positions.

There are in the Indian services the following number of officers holding the honors of the Military Order of the Bath:

	G.C.B.	K.C.B.	C.B.	Knt.	Total.
Bengal	3	6	63	1	73
Madras	2	3	20	1	26
Bombay	1	1	19	0	21
Totals	6	10	102	2	120

Bengal Aides-de-Camp to the Queen			6
Madras	do.	do.	1
Bombay	do.	do.	1
		Total	8

MEDICAL.

	K.C.B.	C.B.
Bengal	1	2
Do. Civil Service	1	1

RETIRED CIVIL SERVICE.

Bengal—1 K.C.B., 1 Rt. Hon., and 1 Knt.

Retired Officers—Bengal, 1 Medical Knt., 17 C.B., and 1 Knt. included.

Madras—1 K.C.H., 1 K.S.F., 1 Knt. and C.B., 2 K.L.S., 3 C.B.

Bombay—Civil, 1 G.C.B, 1 Knt. and C.B.; Military, 1 K.L.S. and 4 C.B.; Surgeon, 1 G.C.B

CHAPTER XVI.

PROMOTION IN THE INDIAN ARMY, ETC.

If the promotion in the Indian Army had been by seniority as in our army, the result would have been as follows:—

To Colonel of a Regiment.....	43 years' service
To Lieutenant-Colonel	32 „
To Major	29 „

In the Bengal Infantry:—

To Colonel, Cadets of	1806
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1819
To Major, do.....	1823

In the Madras Infantry:—

To Colonel, Cadets of	1814
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1819
To Major, do.....	1821

In the Bombay Infantry:—

To Colonel, Cadets of	1817
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1819
To Major, do.....	1821

In the Bengal Cavalry:—

To Colonel, Cadets of	1805
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1818
To Major, do.....	1821

In the Madras Cavalry:—

To Colonel, Cadets of	1810
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1818
To Major, do.....	1820

In the Bombay Cavalry:—

To Colonel, Cadets of	1816
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1823
To Major, do.....	1825

It would take forty-four years' service for the Cavalry officers to become colonel, were the whole of the twenty-one regiments to have a seniority promotion.

Artillery of India.—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Colonel[1]	1808	1810	1810
Lieut.-Colonel.	1819	1821	1820
Major	1822	1823	1826

If amalgamated :—(Artillery of India).

To Colonel, Cadet of	1810
To Lieutenant-Colonel, do	1820
To Major, do	1822

Engineers of	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
To Colonel	1811	1809	1812
To Lieut.-Colonel..	1823	1822	1825
To Major	1827	1823	1825

The Engineers of all India.

To Colonel, Cadets of	1812
To Lieutenant-Colonels, do	1823
To Majors, do	1827

The Medical Service.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
To Board[2]	1811	1820	1824
To Superintending..	1816	1825	1825
To Surgeon	1839	1836	1839

There are about 750 Medical men in the Indian Army, and 47 Veterinary Surgeons.

There are Infantry Officers	4008
Cavalry, do	441
Artillery, do.....	552
Engineers.....	184
Total....	5185[3]

The Ecclesiastical Establishment.

1805,	there were only	in India,	18	Chaplains.[4]
1814	do	do	33	,,
1834	do	do	75	,,
1853	do	do	136	,,

[1] Cadets of those years.
[2] Passed over the heads of two, of the year 1810.
[3] In the Royal Army, about 7,000 officers.
[4] Formerly attached to European regiments—and now again proposed, it is said—Bishops three, and Archdeacons not included.

Increase of the Indian Armies since 1804—the end of the Mahrattah War of 1803-4.

	1804 Regiments.	1852 Regiments.	Increase Per Cent.
Bengal *Infantry*	56	78	40
Madras, do	48	56	nearly 16⅔
Bombay, do	20	33	80
Bengal *Cavalry*.....	6	10	66
Madras, do	8	8	nil.

Bombay—Two Regiments raised in 1817, and one in 1820.[1]

	Officers.	Officers.	
Bengal *Artillery*[2]	93	276	nearly 200
Madras, do	62	161	nearly 160
Bombay, do	45	115	150
Bengal *Engineers*	27	92	about 245
Madras, do	27	46	about 75
Bombay, do	27	46	about 75

There were 45 officers in a regiment of two battalions, now 24 in each regiment of one battalion. There were 17 officers in each Cavalry regiment,[2] now there are 21 officers. It was found during Lord *Lake's* war (1803-4) that we were lamentably deficient in Artillery in actions in the field, etc.; hence we began in 1806[3] to increase the most important branch in every army. The increase has been from 200 to 552 officers. The Engineers have been increased from 81 to 184 officers, not in so great a ratio as in the Artillery. The increase in the extent and importance of Public Works—the number of canals, roads, etc., and the railways, will render a further increase to the engineers, most probably necessary. The employment of military officers in civil and political positions, is often necessary, and in newly conquered countries, often a *sine qua non!* They work more cheaply than civil servants. The Native uncovenanted servants must be advanced. There were 902 civil covenanted servants in 1830, and now only 806. It might be useful in time of war, to give to each *wing* of regular Native Cavalry and Infantry, a Sergeant-Major, and Quarter-Master Sergeant—to take the place of wounded, etc., European, etc. officers.[4]

[1] Officered from the Infantry.

[2] A Colonel to each brigade of two regiments.

[3] Dating promotion from 1805—the March fleet of 1806, took out the orders.

[4] A distinguished Madras officer examined by the Committee, spoke to me on this subject, but had not an opportunity of giving his opinion to the above effect before the Committee of the Commons

By reference to the East India Register, dated 25th of March, 1820, I find there were 958 vacancies in the Indian Army, as follow :—

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Engineers.	Totals.
Bengal....	44	294	27	1	366
Madras....	42	355	39	2	438
Bombay....	—	153	—	1	154
Totals ..	86	802	66	4	
			Grand Total....		958

The regiments were in numbers as follow :—

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Engineers.
Bengal.....	8	31	4	1
Madras	8	26	3	1
Bombay	2	12	2	1
Totals....	18	69	9	3

On the 26th of September, 1820, the vacancies were only 912 ! Mr. *Joseph Hume*, in the Court of Proprietors, about the above period, called the attention of the Court of Directors to the above fact. The singular circumstance is, that so much patronage should have been lost! The object was to save expense. This was after the *Mahrattah* War of 1817-18. Then, again, after the *Burmese* War (1824-26), or in 1829, there was a great reduction in the Indian Army, amounting to above a million of pounds sterling, and by a reduction in companies, and in the number of sepoys or privates. The reduction was to eight companies, and the sepoys to eighty men per company.

In the Cavalry there were nearly (1820) five officers wanting to complete each regiment. In the Native Infantry, there were eleven and twelve officers wanting to complete; in the Madras Infantry, between thirteen and fourteen wanting to complete; and in the sixty-nine regiments of Native Infantry, there were 112 lieutenants wanting to complete. With less country to govern, the Civil Service in March 1820, stands as follow :—

	1820.	1853.	
Bengal.....	463	492	Civil Servants.
Madras	237	188	do.
Bombay	108	126	do.

The object of forming each battalion of a regiment into a regiment with a full colonel, instead of having a colonel to each two

battalions, has caused the promotion to Colonel to be gained in about fourty-four instead of in fifty-three years, when there had been no increase to shorten the period in gaining that rank.[1] The advantage, as to promotion by the additional Colonels might have been given by keeping the two battalions as one regiment—by which plan, when the first battalion should be sent on service, some few officers might have been taken, temporarily, from the second battalion. Many old officers held this idea as well as the author.

[1] The estimated time was fifty-two years for all India, but Mr. *Cabell* said, I might have allowed fifty-four years for Bengal, instead of fifty-three. It supposed promotion unaided by any increase. My estimate was made in 1821.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRIZE MONEY.

PRIZE money, or booty, captured by the troops from the enemy, is not claimable as of *right* by the Army. In the Navy the distribution of Prize Money is governed by an order in Council, dated 30th of July, 1849, and came into operation on the 1st of January, 1850.[1]

To Flag Officer or Officers—One sixteenth.[2]

To a Captain, Commander, Lieutenant commanding, or Master commanding, or any other officer, for a single capture, the officer actually in command, shall have one-eighth of the remainder, or if there be no such flag, one-eighth of the entire net proceeds, unless for joint-captures, then the one-eighth between them—One eighth.

Commodores of Second Class and Field Officers as Marines, or of land forces serving as Marines, doing duty as Field Officers, *above the rank of Major*, to share as Captains; and *Field Officers* of *Marines*, or of *land* forces serving as Marines, and doing duty in the rank of *Major*, to share as commanders of sloops.

Then there are Ten Classes.

First Class.—Commander under Captains, etc., in or with any ship or ships above the sixth rate—forty Shares.

Second Class.—First Lieutenants, etc, in etc. below the fifth rate—twenty-five Shares.

Third Class.—Sea-Lieutenants, Masters, Captains of Marines, of Marine Artillery, or of land forces doing duty as Marines—twenty Shares.

Fourth Class.—Lieutenants or Quarter Masters of Marines, Lieutenants of Marine Artillery, Lieutenants, Quarter Master, or Ensigns of land forces doing duty as Marines, Secretaries to Commodores of Second Class, *Chaplains*, Surgeons, Pay-Masters and Pursers, Mates, Boatswain, Carpenters, Assistant-Surgeons —twelve Shares.

[1] See New Navy List, 1853, by Joseph Allen, Esq., R.N., p. 331.

[2] When two, they divide; the chief has two-thirds, and the other one-third of the one-sixteenth. If more than two, then the chief gets half, and the other one-half is divided equally between the junior Flag Officers. Commodores of the First Class and Captains of the Fleet, share as Flag Officers, etc.

Fifth Class.—Midshipmen, Naval Cadets, etc.—seven Shares.

Sixth Class.—Masters-at-Arms, Chief Boatswains' Mates, Quarter Masters, Gunners, Boatswains' and Carpenters' Mates, Captains of the forecastle, of the afterguard, of the hold, of the main-top, and of the fore-top, coxswains of the launch, sail-makers, rope-makers, caulkers, pilots, Sergeant of Marines, or Marine Artillery, or of *land forces* doing duty as Marines, etc.—six Shares.

Seventh Class.—Captains of the mast and mizen-top, Second Captains of the forecastle, of the main-top, fore-top, and of the afterguard, Musicians, Corporals of Marines, or of *land forces*, etc., Bombadiers of Marine Artillery, etc.—Share a fourth.

Eighth Class.—Able Seamen, ordinary Seamen, Privates, and Fifers of Marines, or of *land forces*, Gunners of Marine Artillery, Bandsmen, etc.—Shares a second.

Ninth Class.—Second Class ordinary Seamen, tailors, landsmen, ships' boys of the First Class, etc., not specially authorised to do duty, persons borne merely as *passengers*, and not declining to render assistance on any occasion of capture, seizure, etc.—Shares one and a quarter.

Tenth Class.—Ships' boys below the First Class, three-fourths of a share each; Seamen gunners to share in the class immediately above that of their rating is mentioned.

At Seringapatam, 1799, the following was the scale of distribution:—[1]

The Commander-in-Chief, one-eighth of the whole.	
Major-Gen. Floyd, second in command	2,000 Shares.
Major-General on the Staff	1,500 do.
Colonels	600[2] do.
Lieutenants-Colonel	360 do.
Major	240 do.
Captains	120 do.
Subaltern	60 do.
Warrant Officer	15 do.
Sergeant-Major	3 do.
Sergeant	2 do.
Corporal, Trumpeter, Drummer, and Private	1 do.
Subadar	6 do.
Jemadar	2 do.
Havildar	1 do.
Naick and Sepoy	⅔ do.

[1] Second dividend, G. O. Fort St. George, 12th of August, 1808.

[2] And corresponding ranks in all cases.

COMPARATIVE RANK.

1. Admiral of the Fleet *with* ..... Field Marshal.
2. Admirals ..... .Generals.
3. Vice-Admiral .....Lieut.-Generals.
4. Real-Admiral .....Major-Generals.
5. Commodores, 1st and 2nd Classes, Director-General, Medical Department .....Brigadier Do.
6. Post Captains .....Colonels.
7. All other Captains, Medical Inspectors of Hospitals and Fleet .....Lieut.-Colonel.
8. Commander, Secretaries to Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Deputy Medical Inspectors, etc. .....Majors.
9. Lieutenants, Masters of the Fleet, Masters, Chaplains, Secretaries to Junior Flag Officers and Commodores of First Class, Surgeons, Paymasters and Pursers .....Captains.
10. Mates, Assistant Surgeons.....Lieutenants.
11. Second Masters, Midshipmen .....Ensigns.
12. "Nothing contained in these regulations to give a claim to any officer of the Navy to assume command of Her Majesty's Land Forces on shore, nor to any Officer of the Army to assume command of Her Majesty's squadrons or ships."[1]

NAVY AND ARMY COMPARATIVE SHARES OF PRIZE MONEY.

NAVY.		ARMY.
Commander-in-Chief may be one-sixteenth, two-thirds of one-sixteenth, or one-half of one sixteenth, according to the number of Flag Officers		Commander-in-Chief, one-eighth.
Rear-Admirals		Major-Generals, 1,500 shares.
Commodores, 1st Class		Brigadier-Generals.[2]
Post Captain		Colonel, 600 shares.
Commodores, 2nd Class, and Captains of the Navy		Lieutenant-Colonels, 360 do.
1st Class of the Navy, Commanders	40 shares	Majors, 240 do.
2nd Do., Lieutenants ..	25 do.	
3rd Do., Captains of Marines.....	20 do.	Captains, 120 do.
4th Do., Serg.-Maj. of Marines and Asst. Surg.	12 do.	Subalterns, 60 do.
5th Do., Midshipmen and Naval Cadets	7 do.	

[1] Allen, p. 324.
[2] Between a Colonel and Major-General.

NAVY.		ARMY.
6th Class Serg. of Marines	6 shares.	Sergeants, 2 shares.
7th Do., Corporals of Marines & Bombadier	4 do.	Corporals, 1 ditto.
8th Do., Able Seamen, Ordinary Seamen, Privates and fifers, landsmen	2 do.	Privates, 1 do.
9th Do., 2nd Class, Ordinary Seamen, *passengers*, etc.	1½ do.	
10th Do., boys of 1st Class	¾ do.	Sepoys, two-thirds, do.

IN THE NAVY THERE ARE TO SHARE—

1st Class.....	4 classes, or persons to share.[1]	
2nd Do.	4 do.....	...do.
3rd Do.	7 do.....	do.
4th Do.	22 do.....	do.
5th Do.	5 do.....	do.
6th Do.	26 do.....	do.
7th Do.	20 do.....	do.
8th Do.	16 do.....	do.
9th Do.	21 do.....	do.
10th Do.	1 do.....	do.

No. 1.—In the *Tarragona* Prize of the Conjoint Expedition of British Land and Sea Forces,[2] the following shares are given:—

Lieutenant-General Lord W. Bentinck, Admiral Lord Viscount Exmouth, and the General Officers and Admirals present at the capture of the said booty. Lord W. Bentinck and Admiral Exmouth shall take one moiety, and the other Generals and Admirals the other moiety, in equal proportions.—One-eighth.

The Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors, and Captains and Commanders in the Navy, who were present, to be equally divided among them, and the persons entitled by the usage of our army, to share with them.—Two-eighths.

To Captains in the Army and Navy, and Lieutenants in the Navy, and other description of persons entitled by usage of our Army and Navy, respectively to share with them.—One-eighth.

To Lieutenants, Cornets, Ensigns, and Quarter-Masters in the Army, and Warrant and other Officers in the Navy, and other description of persons entitled, etc.—One-eighth.

[1] Not all given by me, as the army have no corresponding classes.

[2] Harris Prendergast, Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, (1849). The law relating to the Officers in the Army, p. 230. Extract. Warrant of 7th of June, 1820. (Signed,) *Bathurst.*

To Sergeants in the Army, and Petty Officers in the Navy, and other description of persons, etc.—One-eighth.

To Trumpeters and Soldiers, Seamen and Marines, and other description of persons, etc.—Two-eighths.

No. 2.—The *Genoa* Booty,[1] *Conjoint.*

1.—The Commander-in-Chief, Flag and General Officers. Each Commander-in-Chief double the share of each General and Flag Officer (not being a Commander-in-Chief); but if the number of Flag and General Officers, exclusive of the two Commanders-in-Chief, shall exceed four, then a moiety of the said one-eighth shall be divided between the two Commanders-in-Chief, and the other moiety amongst the other Flag and General Officers.—One-eighth.

2.—The Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors, and Post-Captains, and Masters and Commanders in the Navy, *and the persons of like rank belonging to the said Sicilian and Italian ships and troops,* to be equally distributed amongst them.—One-eighth.

3.—To Captains of Marines and Land Forces, and the sea Lieutenants, and other description of persons entitled by our Proclamation, etc., of the 11th of November, 1807, or by the usage of our army, to share with them, *and to the, etc., Sicilian and Italian ships and troops.*—One-eighth.

4.—To Lieutenants and Quarter-Masters of Marines, and Lieutenants and Ensigns, and Quarter-Masters of Land Forces, and the Boatswains, Gunners, Pursers in the Navy, and other, etc., (as above).—One eighth.

5.—To Midshipmen, Captains' Clerks, Sergeants of Marines, and Land Forces, and the other description, etc., (as above).—One-eighth.

6.—Trumpeters, Quarter-Gunners, Seamen, Marines, and Soldiers and the other description, etc., (as above).—One eighth.

There is a marked difference in this scheme from that of *Tarragona*—Nos. 2 and 6, only one-eighth instead of two-eighths, though[2] it is said, "the whole being first divided into eight equal parts."

No. 3.—*Waterloo Prize Money,* (or 25,000,000 *francs*). It was a grant by Parliament of £1,000,000 to the Army:—

1.—The Commander of the Forces[3].... One-sixteenth.
2.—General Officers..... One-sixteenth.
3.—Field Officers[4] ..... One-eighth.

[1] Prendergast, p. 233. Royal Warrant, 2nd of August, 1815.
[2] Page 234. Possibly the other two-eighths were for the *Sicilian* and *Italian* ships and troops.
[3] The Duke of Wellington Despatches, vol. xii., p. 682, 16th of Nov., 1815.
[4] Here includes *Cols.* Lt.-Cols., and Majors.

4.—Captains	One-eighth.
5.—Subalterns	One-eighth.
6.—Sergeants	One-eighth.
7.—Rank and File	Three-eighths.
1.—Amounted to	£60,0000
2.— do	1,250
3.— do	420
4.— do	90
5.— do	33
6.— do	19
7.— do ....(One share)....	2 10s.

No. 4.—The *Russool Khyma* Booty,[1] 1819, follows the scheme of the *Tarragona* Prize. The *Tarragona* Prize refers to the 54th of Geo. II., and the letters patent, dated 14th of January, 1758 (Geo. II), granted to the East India Company, for booty captured by Company's troops *alone*. The Prize at Java (1811), a conjoint expedition, was divided upon the principle which then governed the distribution of Navy Prize money. The Prize money for the Mahrattah War of 1817-18, caused much legal dispute[2] before the Lords of the Treasury in 1823, when it was decided that the *Bengal* Army should *not* share! In 1825, the Trustees were of opinion the troops who fought at *Nagpoor*, *Mahidpoor*, and *Poonah*,[3] should alone share. Then, in 1833, the opinion of 1823 was overruled, and the Duke of *Wellington* decided that the Marquis *Hastings* was Commander-in-Chief, issuing orders to the three armies of India, and as *constructive* captors, (the most just principle,) the Bengal Army were entitled to share. *David*[4] decided this point, 2,909 years ago—"But as his part *is* that goeth down to the battle, so *shall* his part *be* that tarrieth by the stuff: they shall part alike." In neither of the armies were *all* actual captors! The Duke of Wellington, in 1804, ordered that the Hon. *M. Elphinstone*,[5] of the Bengal Civil Service, should share in the Prize money as a Captain, for the Mahrattah War in 1803-4.

I think that the Prize money for the Indian army should either be framed upon the principle decided for the Royal Navy, or according to that which took place for the distribution of the Parliamentary Grant for the battle of Waterloo. I conceive that one-eighth of the Prize money, or booty, is too much for the Commander-in-Chief. It in no case takes place in the Royal Navy, in which one-sixteenth is the share allowed. The private

[1] Warrant, 10th of October, 1823. Prendergast, p. 236.
[2] At a cost of about £40,000.
[3] Including Colonel Prother's detachment of the Bombay Army.
[4] Samuel, i. chap. xxx. ver. 24.
[5] Despatches, vol. 3, p. 441. Mr. E. was of eight years standing in the Service.

soldier now obtains *one* share, while the Captain of his troop, or Company, has 120 shares! If the *Captain* and his Company were serving as Marines, *he* would get twenty shares, or twenty times more than the soldier. In India we give the *Captain* 120 times as much as the soldier!!!

Trustees, I think should be selected by the army, and approved of by the Crown. There should be some rule to obviate a delay of so many years[1] as occurred in the distribution of the Prize booty captured in 1817, and 1818-19. The money was placed in *deposit*, but without any arrangement as to *interest*. Lord *Combermere* obtained five per cent. for the Prize money, etc., captured at Bhutpoor, in 1826.

No. 5.—The *Scinde booty*[2] case represents, what I consider, a financial anomaly. Major-General *Sir C. J. Napier*, it was decided, should have one-sixteenth. The distributions were made at Bombay. *Sir Charles* applied for one-eighth. An order was sent out to grant a second one-sixteenth. Then came the awkward *modus operandi*. Officers, etc. were called upon to *refund!*[3] His Grace the late Duke of *Wellington* was contented with one-sixteenth for Waterloo, and no person could be more worthy of reward than *Sir C. J. Napier*; but, by giving one-eighth instead of one-sixteenth, the extra one-sixteenth is a reward taken from the pockets of the soldiers. I object to the one-eighth for many reasons. The naval Commander-in-Chief and the military Commander-in-Chief (supposing no other Admiral or General present), would only get one-sixteenth between them. I have no personal interest in the question, but think it right to state, as forcibly as possible, the hardship of the present distribution of the prize money to the Indian Army.

[1] The Prize of 1818-19 was not all divided in less than fourteen years, or longer.

[2] Prendergast, p. 227. Warrant dated 11 Nov. 1845—about £466,292.

[3] Soldiers, as I shall show in another chapter, are very sensitive as to hard-earned money being taken from them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer well knows that the *Income Tax* is not a favourite with military men. Mr *Pitt* raised the pay of the officers, to meet the difficulty.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMMISSARIAT.

Mr. *Campbell* says, "The Collectors[1] are (from the insufficiency of the Commissariat department) the Commissaries of the Army. The Commissariat seems to consider itself, for the most part, a mere office of distribution and account, and never provides supplies for the march of a single regiment. On such occasions, a requisition is sent to the collectors of districts through which troops are to pass, and all supplies are received through them. In the same way, when an army takes the field, the Commissariat Department write to the Collectors for supplies, dole them out to the troops, send in the bills, and take the credit of supplying the army." On service in the Affghan War, and in the Punjab, etc., the diplomatic officers attached to the army were obliged to use their influence in obtaining supplies. When furnished, the Commissariat Officers took charge of the supplies. The Report of the Bengal Committee for 1835 states, "The supplies of the Commissariat are now chiefly obtained by *contracts*, which appear to us the most advantageous mode of supply. We are not satisfied, however, that this branch of duty has always been conducted in the most unexceptionable manner," etc.[2]

I do not profess to know all the items which constitute the Commissariat charges. At Madras, I was told, that they include the cost of remount horses. Now the remounts are not above 500 horses, and the cost at 500 rupees each would be 250,000 Rs. The only way to test the charges at the three Presidencies, will be by examining the items of the accounts for each army. The respected officer who formed the Madras Commissariat[3] did not think it would be delicate towards him to investigate into the state of

[1] Modern India (1852), p. 241. My military *political* friends (with *armies*) lay claim to services in placing supplies at the disposal of the Commissariat Officers. The *Collectors* do so in our *Provinces!*

[2] Without admitting that, as to public persons, we should write "De Mortuis nil nisi bonum, now said to be understood to mean, "Let nothing be said but what is *true*"—it must be allowed that a certain Commissariat Chief, was not fit for his office.

[3] In 1810; the Bengal was formed in 1809.

the Commissariat of the Madras army. The Marquis *Wellesley* sent Captain *Salmond*[1] to inspect the accounts of the military expenditure at the other Presidencies. The object was to place the military expenditure on the same footing at all the Presidencies. It is true, that the Commissariat charges seem to have increased much of late years.

The Blue Book on East India Affairs for 1832[2], from 1813 to 1830, gives :—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
1813	£221,438			
1821	720,063	265,436	74,232	1,059,731
1824	613,389	135,380	36,171	784,940
1825	550,321	158,187	36,171	744,679
1826	585,121	245,845	52,708	883,674
1828	683,478	a year of *Peace*.		
1830	382,499	207,346	24,482	614,327

The Burmah War years are 1824-25-26.

At *Bombay*, it was said,[3] "A saving of nearly 30 per cent. has been made upon an average of its total expenditure." At Madras, it was stated[4] that "The greater part of the supplies (for the Medical Department) are now furnished by the Commissariat Department." It was said that the agents sent with remount horses, when gram for horses sold at twenty-five seers per rupee, got a price current for a rate of 20 seers, the said agent pocketing the difference.

I find[5] the cost of the Commissariat for all three Presidencies as follows :—

1834-35	£755,003	Shakhewatee Campaign.
1835-36	633,849	do.
1836-37	598,892	do.
1837-38	656,516	do.
1838-39	922,716	Affghan War.
1839-40	1,059,687[6]	do.
1840-41	1,412,271	do.
1841-42	1,542,369	do.
1842-43	1,379,073	Sindh War.
1843-44	1,311,259	Do. and Gwalior.
1844-45	1,293,370	do.

[1] See Despatches (Marquis Wellesley), vol. iii., p. 438.
[2] Vol. 6, Synopsis, p. lxxviii.
[3] Book East India Affairs, 1832, p. 383.
[4] Brigadier-General Pritzler, H. M. S.
[5] Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, 29th of June, 1852, p. 489.
[6] See the year 1821, £1,059,441—*Peace*.

1845-46	1,324,993	The Sikh War.
1846-47	1,328,366	Do. ended March, 1846
1847-48	1,071,311	do.
1848-49	1,856,091	do.
1849-50	1,248,986	do.
1850-51	Statements not received.	

Mr. *Campbell*[1] says, "The annual expense of the army, according to the latest accounts, stands thus:—Total in India, £10,098,000." The Commissariat is put at the high figure of £1,249,000. This was (1849-50) a year of peace, but all the War Establishments had not been discharged, and in the Punjab, etc., we were on the *que vive*,[2] and after the last battle, or *Prince of battles*, came the annexation. Looking at the increase of the army, etc., since 1829 (or after the reduction), I consider the peace charges for the Commissariat are not above £800,000 a year, instead of 1,249,000. It is a very long question. That a minute investigation is required appears to me to be evident, if we compare the strength of the armies at each of the above periods. We then want to know what are the items of charge at each Presidency, and why (if so,) the charges should vary at *Madras* and *Bombay* from those at *Bengal*. I have no possible personal object. But believing that there is a *screw loose*, I think it a duty to suggest the mode of unravelling the mystery.

Sir R. J. Routh[3] says, "In the Indian army, there is no regular Commissariat as a special and distinct career. Regimental officers are selected to superintend this duty, the details of which are entrusted to Natives, and this last fact accounts for the perseverance in the same system, and the difficulty of carrying out any new or more economical administration.[4]" This is true to some extent; but the novitiate is usually in the Commissary or Deputy Commissary General's office, to be initiated. It is on-service that most of the duty will be learned. In time of peace there are usually contracts entered into for half-yearly or a yearly supply of certain articles. I have not space to give much from *Sir R. J. Routh's* book, which is well worth reading.[5] He sadly complains of the *China* Expedition, and of the salt meat in particular.[6]

[1] "India, as it may be," p. 1853. p. 339.

[2] The Battle of Goojrat fought 21st of Feb., 1849, and the Punjab soon after was annexed.

[3] K.C.B., Commissary General's Pamphlet on the British Commissariat, 2nd Edition, 1852, p. 47.

[4] Why not send to England a smart Commissariat Officer from the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay armies.

[5] He says, there were 52,000 camels with Lord *Keane's* army—never so many at any one period.

[6] I should like to see the proceedings of the Committee held at Chusan!

He recommends Irish salt pork, and states "that the *American* and *Canadian* pork or beef begins to deteriorate after the second year, and that meat salted and prepared in a high temperature cannot be relied upon for any distant service!" He adds:—"I am informed, that meat cured at the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales is of good quality; and it is certainly salted in the cool season!" He thinks that the ships containing provisions should be under the *Commissariat*, and not under the *Navy*.

It would certainly be a great advantage, were some of our Commissariat officers to come to England to learn how the duties are carried on in Royal service, and how the accounts are kept, and the checks made in keeping stores of provisions; for when the East India Company have any of their troops employed with those of Her Majesty's services, it would be of great advantage that in a conjoint expedition, the accounts should be understood by all parties. The mode of salting and preserving provisions is one of great importance. Let the reader refer to the Marquis *Wellesley's* Despatches.[1] He will find that he furnished ample provisions of the best kind for all the troops, European and Native, and that no complaint was ever made. But he was a nobleman of the most comprehensive mind, whose exertions saved India from great peril.

[1] The Marquis Wellesley (see Despatches, vol. 5, p. 158) for the Expedition to Egypt (1801), gave the orders in October. In *China* the Government gave orders in *February*, 1840; and they sailed early in April, 1840.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MEDICAL SERVICE OF INDIA.

THE Medical Service of the East India Company in India, has varied but little as to numbers since 1834. There were:—

		Surgeons.	Assist.-Surgeons.	Total.
1834.	Bengal ..	120	251	371
	Madras..	72	164	236
	Bombay..	43	106	149
		235	521	756
1853.	Bengal ..	129	230	389
	Madras..	73	160	233
	Bombay..	53	105	158
		255	495	780

There were three European regiments raised in 1839, of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay,[1] and three of Native Infantry at Bombay in 1846.[2]

There are Medical Boards of three members each at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. There are eleven superintending Surgeons in Bengal, ten in the Madras, and five in the Bombay Army.[3] There are seldom more than one Surgeon, or Assistant-Surgeon with each corps of Native Infantry or Cavalry, except when they go on service. Out of 371 Medical Officers in Bengal, there are only about 120 of these posted to the regular corps. There are many attached to the irregular corps, and to civil stations, etc. Each Native Corps has two Native Doctors.[4] In fact, there are two Native Doctors to each European Medical man.

[1] During the Affghan War and are equal to six of Native Infantry, as to officers.

[2] After the Sindh War.

[3] It is said that they are now to hold office only five years, the same as in the Medical Board.

[4] Some styled Sub-Assistant Surgeons, with a higher pay. At Bombay they are styled first and second Native Assistants.

The Medical Officers are all Military Surgeons and Assistant-Surgeons, and those at civil stations, or in private practice at Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, are only lent, as it were, to the civil branch of the service. There used to be a Medical Board at each Presidency; three members at Bengal and Madras, and two at Bombay—then Superintending Surgeons at Madras and Bombay, and Head Surgeons in Bengal.[1] There are now the following grades:—

	Med. Bd.	Spt. Srgs.	Srgns.	Ast. Srgns.	Total.
Bengal..	3	11	129	230	373
Madras ..	3	10	73	160	246
Bombay..	3	5	53	105	166
Totals ..	9	26	255	495	785

They rank as follows:—

Medical Board, as .....Brigadier Generals.
Superintending Surgeons, as.....Lieutenant-Colonels.
Surgeons, as .....Captains.
Assistants, as .....Lieutenants.

Medical Officer get the following pensions:—

After 20 Years, including 3 years' furlough £191 a year.
,, 24 do. do. ..... 250 do.
,, 28 do. do. ..... 300 do.
,, 32 do. do. ..... 365 do.
,, 35 do. do. ..... 500 do.
,, 38 do. do. ..... 700 do.

I propose that there should be the following grades:—

Medical Board to rank as .....Brigadier-General.
Superintending Surgeons, ditto ..Lieutenant-Colonel.
Staff Surgeon ditto ..Major.
Surgeon ditto ..Captains.
Assistant Surgeon ditto ..Lieutenant.

The grade of Major is required. It was some years ago proposed, and Lord *Hardinge* strongly recommended it. The Senior Surgeon, (next to the Junior Superintending Surgeon,) entered the service in 1818, and he can only rank as a Captain. As to Prize Money, he could only obtain the share allotted to a *Captain!* while some officers who entered the army in the same year, are *Colonels* of regiments.

In Bengal there are four Garrison Surgeons; at Madras, five; at Bombay, one; but there are also, at Bombay, Staff Surgeons, at Keerachee, Rajpootana, and at Poona. There should be Staff

[1] In the year 1807.

Surgeons at certain large stations; not the head quarters of the Superintending Surgeons.

Some of the Native Doctors, in Bengal,[1] are educated at the Calcutta Medical College; but that excellent institution is inadequate to supply all the demands made on them. If there were another in the North West Provinces, it would supply the corps at and above Allahabad, and all corps in the Punjab—the Calcutta College to supply corps below Allahabad. Besides, there are required for the formation of Medical Depôts, a great number of Native Doctors, who should, at first, be instructed in the vernacular.

In June, 1822, the Medical Board[2] recommended the establishment of a school for Native Doctors; the late Mr. *Jameson* was appointed President. They were instructed in the Hindoostanee language. Lectures were given on *Materia Medica*, *Anatomy*, etc. On the death of Mr. *Jameson*, Mr. *Breton* was appointed in October, 1823. This was the foundation of the Calcutta Medical College. Dr. F. J. Mouat, F.R.C.S., the Secretary of the College and of the Council of Education, has published several valuable works in the Native languages, and has prepared regular sets of anatomical plates, so that there are ample means of instructing the Natives. Some Native demonstrators, etc., might be supplied by the Calcutta College for that proposed to be formed in the North West Provinces.[3] There were 10,000 camp followers said to have died of *Cholera* in 1817, while attached to the grand division of the army, and at the head quarters of Lord Hastings. I do think it becomes a national object to carry out the plan of forming dispensaries in all the large stations for the benefit of the Natives; and it would be a great object to enlist the good feelings of the Natives in the good cause. Nothing so much attaches a people to a Government as the care taken to attend to the wants of the sick. England and the United Kingdom have hospitals all over the country. Having hospitals only at the great capitals of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, is only a partial measure, and more for European servants than for the public.

[1] Some are Sub-Assistant Surgeons.
[2] Calcutta Institutions. Lushington's, p. 324.
[3] See Chapter III. on the Education of the Natives.

CHAPTER XX.

RETIRED OFFICERS FROM 1798 TO END OF 1852.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	
Colonels	1	8	5	14
Lieutenant-Colonels	66	55	29	150
Majors	135	115	55	305
Captains	187	151	61	399
Subalterns	69	69	33	171
Medical Board	10	8	21	39
Superintending Surgeons	3	8	4	15
Surgeons	111	51	26	188
Assistant-Surgeons	17	13	3	33
Veterinary Surgeons	2	5	3	10
Chaplains	23	20	8	51
	624	503	248	1375
Add for the Indian Navy				58
			Grand Total....	1,433

In the Civil Service there were in 1852:—

Bengal Civil Annuity Fund	154
Madras[1] ditto	92
Bombay[2] ditto	47
Total	293

The number of Officers in the Indian Army are as follows:—

Infantry Officers	4008
Cavalry ditto	441
Artillery ditto	552
Engineer ditto	184
	5185[3]

[1] Twenty-seven on the fund of 1800, 1814, and 1818, and 65 on that of 1825.
[2] On the Private Fund, 9; and 38 on the Company's Annuity Fund.
[3] There are about 7000 officers in the Royal Army.

	5185
Medical Officers	797
Indian Navy	208
Ecclesiastical Establishments	139[1]
Grand Total	6329

The Civil Service consists of 806 servants. In Bengal 492, Madras 188, Bombay 126. In the year 1830, there were 902 civil servants. These numbers will enable any one to find the per centage of retirements, on the numbers of which each service consists. On the 11th of May, 1842, the retirements of Military Officers were 1122. In the Civil Service in 1842, there were 164 retirements. In Bengal 99, Madras 43, and Bombay 22. In the Civil Service, since January 1853, Civilians after twenty-five year's service, have (including three years for a furlough), £500 from the Company, and if they shall have had deductions at 4 per cent. from their salaries, equal to 50,000 Rs., then they are to have an extra £500 a-year. But if the deductions amount to less, then there will be a proportionate decrease.

This rule of deduction from salaries is similar to the principle adopted in most of the public offices in London.

Officers in the Company's Army were allowed to retire on the following pensions for length of service:—

After 23 years	(including	3 years furlough)	£191	12	6	a year.
do. 27	do.	do.	292	0	0	do.
do. 31	do.	do.	365	0	0	do.
do. 35	do.	do.	456	5	0[2]	do.

All Officers after twenty-two years' service in India may get the pension of any rank they may obtain during that period. The former rule as to twenty-three to thirty-five years, applies to those who have been unlucky in their promotion.

Officers who have served less than three years, and who are unable to remain in India, owing to ill-health, may get from Lord *Clive's* fund, if the Court of Directors deem them proper objects of that bounty, to the extent of £36 10s. a-year if an Ensign, Cornet, etc. If a Lieutenant, £45 12s. 6d. a-year—if not possessed respectively of, or entitled to, real or personal property to the extent of, if an Ensign, £750, if a Lieutenant, £1000.

Officers compelled from ill-health, contracted on duty, or

[1] Formerly called Military Chaplains, and attached to regiments, which has been again talked of.

[2] Corresponding with the ranks of Captain, Major, Lieut.-Colonel and Colonel.

wounds, to quit the service after three years service in India, are permitted to retire on the half-pay of their rank, *viz.*,

Ensign, etc.	£54	15	0	a-year.[1]
Lieutenants	73	0	0	do.

A Subaltern, or Assistant-Surgeon, having served six years in India, may retire on the *half-pay of Ensign*, if his constitution be so impaired as to prevent his remaining in India.

A Lieutenant having served thirteen, or an Ensign nine years in India, (including three years for a furlough,) may retire on the *half-pay* of his rank, if he cannot serve in India.

Regimental Officers, if unable to serve in India, may retire on the half-pay of their rank, *viz.*,

Captains	£127	15	0	a year.
Majors	173	7	6	do.
Lieut.-Colonels	200	15	0	do.

Surgeons after twenty years' service, (three years furlough included) have, £1910 a year.

After 24 years	do.	£250	0	0	a year.
do. 28 do.	do.	300	0	0	do.
do. 32 do.	do.	365	0	0	do.
do. 35 do.	do.	500	0	0	do.
do. 38 do.	do.	700	0	0	do.

Since July 1852, the £700 a-year ceased to be granted to those who had *passed* through the Medical Board. They must all serve thirty-five years actually in India.

Veterinary Surgeons have £250 a-year after twenty-seven years' service. After thirty-two years, £300 a-year. For lesser periods, from 3s. to 10s. 6d. are granted.

Chaplains appointed since 1st of September, 1836, have after fifteen years' service, £292 pension. After ten years, if from ill-health compelled to retire, have £173 7s. 6d. After seven years, from the same cause, £127 15s.

The Indian Navy.—Every Officer, after twenty-two years' service in India, is permitted to retire.

Captains	£360	0	0	a year.
Commanders	290	0	0	do.
Lieutenants	190	0	0	do.
Pursers	190	0	0	do.

Retiring from ill-health, after ten years' service, and under twenty-two years:

Captains	£200	0	0	a year.
Commanders	170	0	0	do.
Lieutenants	125	0	0	do.
Pursers	125	0	0	do.

[1] The half-pay exceeds the *half* of the pay; the Ensign's pay is £73.

Lord Clive's Fund gives to an Officer on the production of a Certificate of his being an invalid, and rendered incapable of further service, and another of approbation by the Governor and Council of the Presidency to which he belongs, the following pensions:—

Colonels and Members of Medical Board	£228	2	6	a year.
Lieut.-Colonels and Superints. Surgeons	182	10	0	do.
Majors (and Chaplains, 15 years service)	136	17	6	do.
Captains and Surgeons (Chaplains, 7 years service), and Veterinary Surgeons, (20 years service)	91	5	0	do.
Chaplains under 7 years service	63	17	6	do.
Lieutenants, Asst. Surgeons, and Veterinary Surgeons under 20 years	45	12	6	do.
Ensigns.....	36	10	0	do.
Conductors of Ordnance	36	10	0	do.

Their widows one-half the above, to continue during their widowhood.[1]

Serjeants of Artillery have ninepence a day, and those who have lost a limb, one shilling a day. Gunners of Artillery, sixpence a day, and ninepence if they have lost a limb. All other non-commissioned Officers and Bombadiers have fourpence threefarthings a day. Officers and Privates are entitled to pensions from the day of their landing in England. "*Officers admitted to the benefit of the retiring regulations, are not entitled to participate in Lord Clive's Fund.*"[2]

The East India Company have a Compassionate List of persons who obtain pensions for special services rendered, and even for the widows and daughters of Officers of distinguished service. The widow of Lieutenant-Colonel *Maxwell*, Her Majesty's 19th Light Dragoons, (killed at the battle of Assye, in 1803), had a pension of £400 a year for herself and daughters. The daughter of a late Major-General of the Bengal Army, on the Staff, has £100 or £150 a year from the Company.[3] There have been some cases of great hardship arising out of the late fatal war and operations in *Affghanistan*. I allude to the case of the Officer who commanded the Shah's 4th, or Goorkha regiment, who was killed at Chareekar on the 5th of November, 1841, and of whom *Eyre* says,[4] "In this affair Captain *Codrington*, an Officer of whose merits it is difficult to speak too highly, fell mortally wounded." He was a *brevet*

[1] The widows in some Funds get half of their pensions on re-marrying.

[2] An exception in the case of sickness, and being unable to remain in India; but having retired in good health, there would be no after claim.

[3] There was an instance of an East India Director having a pension from the Court.

[4] Lieut. (now Captain) Vincent Eyre's Military Operations at Cabool. (2nd Edition, 1843) p. 77.

Captain when he died, so that his widow only gets the pension of a subaltern's widow. I must name another case. It is that of the widow of the late *C. B. Greenlaw*, Esq., who died in 1845, as Secretary to the Marine Board at Calcutta, which office he held many years. He was greatly instrumental in saving several lakhs of rupees to the Government, by an arrangement in the reduction of the freights paid for transports in the first Burmese War.[1] Many years ago a Deputy-Master Attendant's widow obtained a pension, as may be seen in the Compassionate List,[2] or separate Pensions List, distinct from that for the Army, Indian Navy, etc. It would be a gracious act to grant the widow of Mr. *Greenlaw*, a suitable pension.

The widow of Mr. *Greenlaw*[3] is entitled to great consideration, for her husband not only saved the East India Company many lakhs of rupees, but was for many years a zealous and able advocate of steam navigation between England and India. He received a piece of plate from the public bodies, as a testimonial of his great services in the cause of Indian Steam Navigation; and no public servant's widow better deserves to receive a pension than Mrs. *Greenlaw*, as she has not, from her own resources, a sufficient income. Mrs. *Codrington* has great claims to consideration, as her husband was killed during a war, entailing peculiar hardships and sufferings; and the claims of some officers, still living, have been liberally noticed by the Court of Directors.

[1] The freights were, at the commencement of the war, 25 and 26 rupees a *ton* per *Month*. He reduced them to 13 rupees; the saving in one ship of 700 tons would be, at 12 rupees a ton, 100,800 rupees, or £10,080 a year. In one of the Parliamentary Blue Books, the tonnage in that war amounted, I find to upwards of £1,400,000. But that must have been much under the total cost!

[2] Captain *Ellis*, Marine Pay-Master, Calcutta, received a pension.

[3] Mr. *Greenlaw* entered the East India Company's Service in 1798, and left it, owing to illness (deafness), caused by exposure; and in 1820 went to Calcutta, became Coroner, and afterwards was appointed to the Marine Board; he obtained no pension or gratuity when the Marine Service was abolished.

CHAPTER XXI.

MUTINIES IN THE NATIVE ARMY.

Mr. *G. Campbell* in his "*India as it may be,*" says,[1] "It is certain that in all our late pitched battles, we have mainly depended on the European soldiers to bear the brunt of the battle. This may in part be owing to defects of the Native Army, which may be, and ought to be, remedied; but it is a fact which ought not to be forgotten. And still more important are the Europeans on *internal* ground, *when we consider the very serious mutinous*[2] combinations which have *taken place within a few years in our Sepoy Army.*" Again,[3] "It is impossible to attach too great importance to the subject of Sepoy mutinies. Shall I venture to say, that the great combinations which occurred a few years ago, were *compromised rather than quelled?* The system and discipline under which such things may any day occur, must be anxiously looked to. Most serious mutinies have occurred in the early days of our army, but they were local and open outbreaks, and were quelled with the strong hand. General, silent, deep combinations, involving concession and compromise, are much more serious."

Having been a Deputy-Judge Advocate-General in the Bengal Army for fourteen years, I have had some experience, and have read much upon the subject of "*Mutiny* and *Desertion!*" I shall confine myself to the present century. "The mutiny at Vellore occurred on the 10th of July, 1806.[4] A change in the dress, for the purposes of assimilating their appearance to that of the European troops, was one cause. With this intention, the Sipahis[5] were forbidden to appear on parade with ear-rings, or the coloured marks upon the forehead or face, significant of sectarial distinctions; and they were commanded to shave their beards[6] and trim their moustachios according to a standard model." The orders had

[1] Page 347—349.
[2] My *Italics.*
[3] Page 349, my *Italics.*
[4] The day of my arrival in Calcutta. See Wilson's History of India, vol. 7, pp. 116 to 137.
[5] Page 127.
[6] The Emperor of Russia (Peter the Great) failed to oblige the Russians to shave off their beards! Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. 26, p. 1017.

been suspended in a few instances by some Commanding Officers; "but they were generally known by the men, and almost universally interpreted to imply a design on the part of government to compel the Native troops to assume the practises, and eventually the religion of Europeans." Similar feelings were entertained by the Sepoys at Hyderabad;[1] some *martinets* disliked the Sepoys wearing the distinctive marks of caste on the forehead—*martinets* are often the worst officers in the army—others objected to the Sepoys singing on the line of march. It ought to be rather encouraged on an ordinary line of march, at a relief, or movement from one station to another. They will *not sing* if they have cause to be *sullen* and *sulky*! It operates as a kind of safety valve!

I shall give a Bengal case. The mutiny of the Native Light Infantry battalion at *Java*,[2] "For having conspired with other Native officers, non-commissioned officers, and Sepoys, of the Light Infantry voluntee. battalion, at Djocjocarta, and *having been present, aiding at one or more mutinous meetings*, held by them in the month of October last (1815); *whereat it was determined, and an unlawful oath administered, to murder their European officers, and subvert the legal authorities of the State;* found guilty, and sentenced to death." There were eighteen others tried, of whom thirteen were sentenced to suffer death. Some suppose that the mutiny was caused by some plot with the Emperor of Solo. But, I believe, that the Sepoys were discontented. The volunteers for *Java* were taken from various corps. The G. O. C. C. (Bengal), 12th December, 1810, declared that "*After the service shall be over, they will be permitted to return* to the battalion from which they were received, or to join any other corps to which they may give the preference."[3] They sailed from Calcutta early in the year 1811, and reached Java in August, so that they were absent from their native country and families for four years and three-quarters when the mutiny took place. The expedition to the Mauritius, (1810) was soon decided, and the Sepoys were not three years absent. At *Java*, many of the European officers of the above corps were sent to staff appointments, and the corps was commanded by the Adjutant, who had been seven years in the service. He was a good officer.

The next case was the unfortunate Barrackpoor Mutiny[4] in November, 1824. The Sepoys had applied for carriage to carry their baggage. The Commanding Officer of the 47th Native Infantry (the late Lieut.-General *Cartwright*), wrote to the Adjutant-General on the subject, who kept the letter in his writing

[1] P. 137.
[2] Hough's Practise of Courts Martial (1825), case No. 13, p. 77.
[3] Henley's Military Regulations (1812), p. 243.
[4] My old corps (47th Native Infantry), was one of them.

desk; and this neglect of his duty caused, it is generally understood, the mutiny to take place.[1] All the three regiments equally required carriage for their baggage.

Of the case of the mutiny at *Madras* in 1844, I will say as little as possible; it was caused by the "*Pay Department*," and so was the mutiny in the Bengal 64th Native Infantry in 1844. When going down to *Sindh*, it was caused by want of due explanation as to the allowances the Sepoys were to receive. The mistake in the Commanding Officer was in *not reporting* the mutinous state of the corps to the General-Officer, the late Major-General *Fast*. The Judge-Advocate-General, I think, gave an erroneous opinion to the Commander-in-Chief. My opinion was, that the Commanding-Officer of the corps could not pardon in the case of *mutiny*, as he could not try such cases himself. It should have been at once reported, and must have depended upon the Commander-in-Chief to decide as to the number to be tried, or how to treat the case.

"The *Army of the Indus*" marched from Ferozpoor towards Cabool, on the 10th December, 1838.[2] It was intended to give "money rations" to the Native troops, as obtained in the army serving beyond the *Eastern* frontier of the British dominions during the war with *Ava*, from the date of crossing the Indus. We were within twenty-two marches of the Indus. At last, the Government Order, dated 18th December, 1838, or eight days after we had marched from Ferozpoor, reached us on the 27th December, 1838!! The staff officers (all of us) remarked, with regret, that the liberal grant of the Government had not been published before the troops marched from Ferozpoor. In 1805, some part of the 7th Native Infantry (then 1st battalion 4th Native Infantry), mutinied at Rewaree. They were eight months in arrears!!![3] This was some financial misarrangement. Lord *Lake* dismissed the Grenadier Company—the party concerned—observing, "It is not the height of the man that makes the grenadier, but his bravery, and good conduct on all occasions." Many officers were much distressed for want of money at the above period.

Then, there are certain false opinions held by certain General-Officers. A Major-General *Wymess*, H.M.S., in his zeal for pro-

[1] The two battalions of the 24th Native Infantry (47th and 48th Native Infantry), had been separated on the 1st May, 1824. I was in England, but told the Chairman of the East India House (Mr. *Astell*), that some very great act of injustice must have been committed! See Captain *Poyson's* statement of the case. I have it.

[2] Hough's Campaign in Affghanistan, (London, 1841) p. 9.

[3] The Order of the Court of Directors of 1785, directs the payment of the troops to be made *while there is a rupee left in the Treasuries*, and to postpone all other payments.

moting Christianity, marched the Bengal Sepoys to church at Columbo, in Ceylon, in 1804! The Marquis *Wellesley*, Governor-General, wrote to the Governor of that Island a letter well deserving the perusal by all who are likely to command in India.[1] "My dear *North*,—I have received information from an authentic quarter, that the detachment of Native Bengal Volunteers, now doing duty in Ceylon,[2] has been required and *compelled*[3] to attend the performance of divine service with the European troops at Columbo. It is impossible for me to express the surprise and regret which this intelligence has excited in my mind. It has always been one of the principal objects of my government to refrain from every kind of interference with the religious customs and prejudices of our Native subjects, particularly of our Sepoys, who are extremely jealous of their religious rights, and who have constantly experienced the most marked protection in the exercise of their religious ceremonies from the British Government in every quarter in India." Any deviation from the attention which is due to the religious prejudices of the Native troops of India, is not only calculated to produce the most serious evils in all our military establishments, but to excite apprehensions in the minds of our Native troops, which may be attended with the most fatal consequences with regard to their attachment and fidelity. The interests of your Government must also suffer from imposing on the Native troops belonging to the different presidencies in India, now serving in Ceylon, the performance of duties which are not only contrary to their habits and prejudices, but which, according to their opinion, entails certain disgrace and infamy. If, however, it should be the determination of the officer commanding the forces at the Island of Ceylon, to require the attendance of the Native troops of India at the performance of divine service, I must recal every Native of the Continent of India belonging to any of the Company's establishments, and now serving in Ceylon; and it is accordingly my desire that they should all be embarked as soon as possible after the receipt of this letter, and sent to their respective Presidencies on the Continent of India, unless you are prepared to afford to me the most satisfactory assurances that the Native troops of every description from India, now serving at Ceylon, shall receive the most ample protection in the exercise of the duties of their religion, and shall experience the same attention to their religious prejudices, and to all their customs and habits, which is manifested towards them on every occasion by the Government of India," etc. The Native and European troops agree well together.

[1] Despatches, vol. iv., p. 52, dated 6th April, 1804.

[2] The Rebellion in 1803 had occurred; and some European troops had been massacred in Kandy.

[3] My *Italics*.

In the year 1815-16, during the Nepal War, the 37th Bengal Native Infantry (then 2nd battalion 18th Native Infantry), were brigaded with Her Majesty's 66th Foot, and the greatest good feeling existed between the two corps. If any European soldier got drunk, and was absent from his camp, some Sepoys were sure to take him safely to his lines. The feeling which existed between the Bengal 35th Native Infantry and Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, during their stay at Jullalabad, where they made so celebrated a defence at that place in 1841-42, after *Sir Robert Sale's* retreat from Cabool in October of the former year, is well known. The Native corps, on their return to India, gave a dinner to Her Majesty's Light Infantry![1]

The Sepoys are very tenacious in regard to their pay and allowances. The indecision as to the grant of the extra batta for serving in Sindh, and on other occasions, caused a strong feeling of discontent. When the troops marched towards Cabool, to enter a foreign and distant country, it should have been clearly notified to the men, at a general parade, some time before they marched, that they would obtain the same pecuniary advantages granted to the Sepoys in the Burmese War in 1824-26.[2]

The system in the corps of Irregular Cavalry, of holding "*Durbars*," at which the Native officers are assembled in the presence of the Commanding-Officer, second in command, and the Adjutant, has been found to work well. It is to be regretted, that in our regular Native Infantry, there are not periodical *levées* of the Native officers. The Sepoys would be pleased to see that the Native officers were noticed in the manner suggested.

In conclusion, let me observe, that the mutinies in the Navy in 1797, arose from the now well-known cause, that the men only received eleven-sixteenths of their provisions, etc., and that the sailors were not paid till they returned to port; and could not leave "ticket-money" for their families! "Do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you."

[1] In the time of Lawrence, at Madras, or about 100 years ago! there was a want of provisions in camp. The Sepoys boiled the rice, and gave it to the Europeans to eat, saying, "*You require more food than we do; we will take the rice water* (*Conjie*)!" Sepoys will do anything if well treated!!!

[2] On foreign service, it is usual to allow of family ticket money, by which the Sepoys can leave so much of their pay to their families. Now, in going to Cabool, the men left India in ignorance as to what provision they could make for them!!!

CHAPTER XXII.

OPIUM MONOPOLY.

No opium was manufactured by the East India Company till the year 1765, except small quantities sent to Bencoolen.[1] In 1718,[2] at the suggestion of Colonel *Henry Watson*, the Chief Engineer in Bengal, the Government resolved to ship 1490 chests of *Opium* to the Eastward and China, invoiced at a price equal to 490 rupees per chest. "The object was to raise a supply for the China Investment for the ensuing season, instead of by *specie*, as the export[3] to Fort St. George had been very great. Country vessels and the Portuguese had for a long course of years carried large quantities to China, sometimes landed at *Macao*, and sometimes at *Whampo*. The custom house (Chinese) officers allowed it to be landed at ten dollars[4] a chest." The Colonel was allowed to ship 250 chests on his own account. The chest of opium was formerly two maunds in weight (or 164 lbs.); it was next about 140 lbs., and by dryage equal to the Chinese Pecul of 133 lbs.[5]

Of late years the Board of Salt, Opium, etc., considered the opium to be classed in value thus: A (No. 1) Bengal—B (No. 2) Malwa—C (No. 3) Turkey. "The landholder has, under the existing regulations, realized the profit which, if the land-rent had not been settled in perpetuity, would have gone to the Government."

The following table was obtained by the author from the Opium Board Office.

[1] Ninth Report, 1783, November 30 and 31.

[2] Book of East Indian affairs, 1832. Appendix, No. 76.

[3] Of Rupees.

[4] At 4s. 6d. would be £2 5s. It is said to be intended by the Emperor to admit it at a duty of 40 tael—which at 6s. 8d. would be £13 6s. 8d. the chest, and will much increase his revenue—or ($13\frac{1}{3} \times 60{,}000$ chests) be £800,000.

[5] Vol. 1830, p. 13.

OPIUM SALES.

Years.	Chests sold.	Proceeds Sicca Rupees.	Average.
1828	6,350	1,07,05,240	1,685
1829	7,709	92,54,030	1,200
1830	8,878	1,10,02,185	1,239
1831	7,548	1,25,07,909	1,656
1832	7,939	1,17,68,699	1,482
1833	10,638	1,24,50,303	1,170
1834	12,523	1,09,12,243	871
1835	13,027	1,36,05,588[1]	1,044
1836	15,944	1,92,11,835	1,277
1837	18,104	2,27,88,638[2]	1,258
1838	19,563	1,42,98,118	747
1839	18,563	99,56,529	536
1840	17,858	97,14,611	543
1841	18,827	1,33,18,549	707
1842	18,362	1,49,06,576	811

In the year 1837, a deduction of 30, 61, 521, Company's Rupees was made on a representation to Government by the merchants, that expecting the sale in China would be legalized, there had been over-speculations; that they would be ruined if full payment on the sales was insisted upon; and that if not made the succeeding sales would be less. The falling off in the years 1839 and 1840 was owing to the war, and 20,000 chests were, in the year 1839, given up to the Chinese, and *were* destroyed by them. The war being over, with peace, prices rose.

	Chests.	
1842-43	18,778	2,45,28,607
1843-44	21,892	2,87,94,699
1844-45	22,517	2,74,93,343
1845-46	21,649	2,74,68,190
1846-47	30,493	2,67,44,636
1847-48	36,459	2,67,44,636
1848-49	41,051	
1849-50	35,083[3]	
16th December, 1850 to 5th May, 1851.....	17,130	

The sales have of late produced about 1,000 rupees a chest in Calcutta, upon an average. In 1819-20, the Behar opium pro-

[1] Company's Rupees in this year coined.
[2] Reduced to 1,97,28,335 Company's Rupees.
[3] Monthly sale began in 1849.

duced Sicca rupees 2435 and 2463.[1] In 1820-21, the Behar sold for Sicca rupees 4,303 and 4,276 (the Benares the lowest) per chest. But the total amount of the revenue was less, and, of course, the quantity; and, as remarked by the Board, "when the market returned to its natural state, Behar sold for 1960, and Benares for 1860 rupees; and produced more revenue."

Mr. *Holt Mackenzie* said,[2] "From such accounts as we have been able to get from *China*, I am led to believe that the taste for opium has very much increased, and especially as the *price has fallen*." "And it has been said, that the use of opium having extended to the *palace*, there has been some relaxation in the law in practice, if not avowedly!"

Since the opening of the five ports there has been greater facility for selling opium. Mr. *Holt Mackenzie* said,[3] "All that we can look to is, the difference between the cost at which opium can be furnished to China from Calcutta, and that at which it can be procured from other quarters; with some allowance possibly for quality."

1852 (12th January to 12th December) there were 35,651 chests advertised to be sold.

The cost of making opium has increased. The cost[4] of making opium in Patna is paid by the Government to the cultivator for growing the poppies, and having the opium of the finest quality, at 4 rupees to 4 rupees 8 anas, and 5 rupees per Seer,[5] which makes it 400 to 450 and 500 rupees per chest of 100 Seers, or 2 maunds and 20 Seers, and no higher price has ever been given by Government. The general rate is 4 rupees per Seer of opium.[6] But an excess to it is paid only when there may be losses to the cultivators. The sales are conducted by Messrs. *Lyall* and Co., Calcutta, at the Exchange. Some extravagant prices have been given at the sales in Calcutta. In 1847, a Marwar merchant bid up to 100,000 rupees (£10,000), to drive another party out of the market. The chest is put up at an upset price of, say 400 rupees, or the cost price.

As to the consumption by Natives of India, it is stated that, "Few Natives of India consume two chuttacks of opium monthly.[7] In manufacturing it into *golees* (balls), they mix it with some fresh smelling leaves, and smoke it with the hookah, but not as

[1] Board's Report.

[2] Book 1832, p. 33, my *Italics*. Now Right Hon. H. Mackenzie.

[3] Book 1832, Appendix, p. 100.

[4] M. S. from Calcutta. By advances made by the opium agents. The juice of the poppy is collected, and is a process of several days.

[5] Formerly a chest cost 120 rupees, a maund of 40 Seers. The above would be £40, £45, and £50 per chest, at the exchange of two shillings.

[6] Thus a chest of opium at 400 rupees cost, will sell in Calcutta at about 1000 rupees; but a chest has sold for 240 rupees only.

[7] Less than two ounces. *(A native statement.)*

they smoke tobacco. Many consume one chuttack a month without making it into balls, but by eating it; these people are considered *first-rate* consumers. Those who use a sicca weight[1] of opium, or the half sicca weight of opium, every month, keep a good temper, and live a long life. Those who are accustomed to use much opium, generally lose their wealth and health; particularly those who use it when made into balls.[2] In India, perhaps, one man in a hundred consumes opium. But in Rungpoor, in Bengal, *all* the people, man, woman, and child, consume opium who can afford to buy it.[3]

Mr. *Langford Kennedy*[4] said, "the ryots hold their lands under the *Zeemindars*, they pay him the fixed rent, and they contract with the agents to cultivate poppy." "The ryots are paid by the Seer for their opium." The average produce is five Seers per beegah,[5] as well as I can recollect. "Some lands yield ten or twelve Seers, some only one Seer."

As to *Bengal*,[6] "The Company had an agency in the district of Rungpoor in Bengal. It does not now exist. The opium was inferior to the *Malwa*. I think the *Behar* and *Benares* is considered the best; but the Chinese can, I believe, tell the difference." Mr. *Kennedy* remarked that *all* the natives in Rungpoor eat opium. The Rajpoots in Malwa, and the people in Rajpootana eat a good deal of opium. "Those to the west of Bombay take most (generally Rajpoots), are very great consumers of opium. Anything that raised the price of their favourite drug would no doubt be unpopular among them."[7]

The Government of Bengal on the 30th August, 1830, determined to relinquish the purchase of *Malwa* opium for re-sale.[8] The Bombay Government (18th of November, 1830), issued a proclamation, and fixed for each opium passport 175 rupees, since raised up to 400 rupees per chest.

The opium from Bombay, called the *Malwa* opium, amounts to about 20,000 to 25,000 a year,[9] and altogether from Bengal and Bombay there are about 60,000 chests sent from India to the Eastern Islands and to China. If all went to China, the quantity sent would be about one-sixth of an ounce to each man, woman, and child.

[1] The fortieth part of a pound, avoirdupois.

[2] The reader may consult the "Confessions of an Opium Eater."

[3] Evidence of the late *Langford Kennedy*. Book of East India affairs, 1832, p. *55*.

[4] Book 1832, p. *55*, Question 760, 772, 776.

[5] In Behar, believed to be two beegah to an English acre.

[6] Book 1832, p. 185, Question 1048, *Runpoor* by mistake put for *Rungpoor;* there is also a *Rungpoor* in *Assam*.

[7] Book 1832, p. 334. Letter of Mr. M. Elphinstone, 16 August, 1832.

[8] Do. Appendix 144, p. 706.

[9] For 1850-51, there were 25,000 chests.

The effect of opium-smoking at Singapoor and in the Eastern Islands, is not so pernicious as people generally think. Not one man in fifty injures his health by the pernicious habit. Let me introduce the reader to the *London Gin Palaces*. It is said that many professional men and public speakers use opium; some bold speakers "not having the fear of the ladies before their eyes, and being moved and instigated by that demon falsehood"—accuse the fair sex of using laudanum[1] to keep up the excitement of a long evening's dance or party. The "Confessions of the Opium Eater" will not drive away the taste for the soothing opium.[2] It is the *abuse* and not the *use* we should deprecate. The *Turks* drink coffee to excess. The *Chinese* drink tea to excess. Among the English, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, the consumption of spirits is said to be per annum—English, 1, Irish, 1⅓, and *Scotch*, 2½ gallons respectively.[3] The Natives of *China* drink *Shamshoo* (made from rice), but it is a worse evil than smoking opium; which only the *rich* can indulge in to an excess. The *Shamshoo* at *Chusan* in 1840, killed many of our troops!

We find in the year 1849-50[4] that the net revenue on opium was £3,358,684.[5] Let us look at the revenues of the United Kingdom. The revenue from wine and spirits is about £8,500,000. The revenue from Tobacco, (a pernicious drug)[6] is about £4,450,000 (in 1852), so that we have £13,000,000, or about 25 per cent. of the whole revenue on pernicious articles of consumption! We do not tax the people of India for our opium, as we do the people of Great Britain for the use of spirits.

Mr. *Langton* said,[7] "substitutes for the revenue from opium may, no doubt, be found; and generally for every measure that tends to the amelioration of the situation of the natives." Mr. *Langton* does not know the history of the house tax at *Benares* (1809), nor of the proposed tax in *Berellee* in 1816, for a police tax.

The Government made an agreement as to the manufacture of opium in Malwa, to preserve our monopoly. If the East India Company gave up the monopoly, there would be nothing to prevent the chiefs in Malwa making opium for themselves. Our negotiations were to secure a monopoly. You could no more prevent their exporting *opium* than you could hinder them from ex-

[1] An action would lie for defamation in any court the ladies may appoint.

[2] Hooqubardars put drugs into their master's Hooqqu, if he behaves ill to them.

[3] Article on the Wine Trade in 1851.

[4] Campbell's Modern India, p. 433.

[5] Gross Revenue £4,562,586.

[6] Before my time, *Gentlemen* used to chew tobacco; there is a box in a certain family dated 1702.

[7] Book 1832, p. 586.

porting *rice*, no famine existing in the country,[1] or prohibit the exportation of sugar, indigo, etc. Therefore, we could not remedy the evil. But, again; if we gave up the manufacture of opium, what is to prevent the largest importation of *Turkey* opium. *Turkey* is pressing the drug on the China market, and it is rising in price; or would not *America* become the supplier of the China market. As to the morality of the question, it is difficult to levy a tax upon the principles of morality.[2] It may be well that the opium is costly, or it might be a greater evil. Surely, if we drink wine and beer after our meals, the Chinese may take a little stimulant. A warm climate renders a little stimulant requisite. The length of the lives of the Mohammedans and Hindoos depends greatly upon the difference in the mode of living. The animal food eaten by the former causes him to have more physical strength, and he lives eight or ten per cent. longer than the latter.

As to the *abuse* of the *use* of spirits, I may recommend a French rule for our army and Navy.[3] "The Prefect of the Doubs has followed the example of the Prefect of the Pas de Calais, and decided that any retail sellers of wine or spirits, giving liquor to persons already affected by what they had taken, shall be held responsible for the acts of such persons." I mean to propose it for the guidance of our military canteens,[4] and no doubt Government will apply it to *Gin Palaces*, and to all whom it may concern! The military canteens used to allow the men to drink as many drams of rum as they liked, provided the men did not *appear* to be drunk. I stated this to *Sir Henry* (now Lord) *Hardinge*, in India, and the Government of India have limited the allowance to *two* drams daily.[5] A Commanding-Officer of the 17th foot, never allowed a dram *before* dinner.[6]

People must not run away with the idea that an increase of revenue would cause an increase of the interest on East India Stock.[7] The monopolies of *opium* and the *salt* sales, etc., are important and vital principles in the Indian revenue, nor do I see

[1] Such as in 1770 in particular, and during the present century.

[2] The French tax certain *light* goods in the *Palais Royal* in Paris.

[3] Daily News, 3rd August, 1852.

[4] It is the last *dram* which causes intoxication, as well as the last *feather* that breaks the camel's back.

[5] As an old Deputy Indian Advocate-General for fourteen years, I know how drams were bought, by selling clothes, etc.

[6] In the year 1805, at Cawnpoor, a Commanding-Officer of a European Regiment (who used to sell spirits from his grog-shop), always flogged for drunkenness. One day he paraded the corps, and formed square. He addressed the men, and said: "Men, I have no objection to your drinking, so long as you drink like gentlemen!"

[7] By the 33 Geo. III. cap. lii. (11th June, 1793) section cxi., it was stated that when the debt in India should be reduced to £2,000,000, and also that

how any Company or body could carry on the Government of India, if those monopolies were abolished ;[1] there would be a deficit in India to an *alarming amount*. I shall boldly meet this question; it *must* be met and *answered*, as it *will* be objected to. Look at our City Corporation monopoly !

In the year 1833, Mr. *Wilbraham*, on bringing up the Report of the Committee, (Charter Act) moved a clause prohibiting the extensive manufacture and sale of salt by the Government of India, the object of which motion was to secure a new market for the salt of *Cheshire*.[2] Mr. *Ewart* seconded the motion on behalf of the export trade of *Liverpool;* and it was supported by Mr *Buckingham* and Mr. *Hume*. The President of the Board of Control[3] made but a feeble opposition, stating "that it was not the purpose of Her Majesty's Government to defend the continuance of the tax; but it was a question of time, and involved important considerations with respect to the revenue derived from the taxes on salt and opium, amounting annually to *two millions and a half*. The authorities in India, as well as those at home, were in favour of the abolition of the tax on salt, and he hoped, therefore, that the amendment would not be pressed. It was accordingly withdrawn." Instead of £2,500,000, the net revenues on opium and salt are about £6,000,000,[3] or near one-fourth of the net revenue of all India.

SALT AND SALT REVENUE IN INDIA.

The Salt *Monopoly*, as it used to be *called*, has lost its distinctive character as such. For many years salt has been imported into India from Great Britain and other countries, it being admitted

there should be a *surplus* revenue, and after paying the dividends on East India stock (then at 10 per cent. interest), and paying the annual sum of £500,000 into the Royal *Exchequer*, and making good all deficiencies in any *such* previous payments, "then the surplus was to be disposed of in the following manner:—One-sixth part of the said surplus to be reserved and retained by the East India Company for their own use, and applied in augmentation of the dividends on their said capital stock, and the residue to be paid to the Bank of *England*, for reduction of the National Debt." Eventually, the *surplus* would have been paid into the Bank of England to the account of the *Consolidated Fund*, "*as the property of the Public in full right.*" (Act for continuing in the East India Company the possession of the British territory in India, etc., p. 314 of "A Collection of Statutes and Charters of the East India Company.") This *golden dream* was never realized; and was never likely to occur; but the *screw* was screwed tightly.

[1] The salt case I shall speak of in the next chapter.

[2] Wilson's History of India, vol. 9, p. 647.

[3] Campbell's Modern India, p. 384; on Salt, the net revenue was—1849-50, 2,703,752 rupees; on Opium, p. 393, for 1849-50, net revenue, 33,586,844 rupees. Total, 60,624,360 rupees!

on the payment of a certain Custom duty. It is a great object to give the Natives of India so useful and necessary an article, as cheap as it can be sold. When many complain of the amount of the *land tax*, they are ignorant that according to the Hindu Law-giver,[1] he (*Munnoo*) states, (*verse* 127)—"Let the King oblige traders to pay taxes on their saleable commodities, and (*verse* 130) of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the King; of grain, one-eighth part, one-sixth or one-twelfth, according to the difference of the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it." (*Verse* 131.) "He may also take one-sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh meat, honey, clarified liquids,[2] flowers, roots and fruit." (*Verse* 132). "Of gathered leaves, pot-herbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone."

The Mohammedan tax on *salt*, was for Mohammedans, two-and-one-half; for Hindoos, five per cent.[3]

Thus it appears, that besides the *Land* Tax[4] and *salt*, the Natives had taxes upon every increase of their property or wealth! The most minute Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, would have found it difficult to propose a more comprehensive scheme! The Hindoos had also for some years in the great Akbar's time, a Capitation Tax.[5] The salt tax in England was about 10 rupees a maund (20s.), in 1805. It ceased to be levied after the 5th January, 1852. Mr. *Crawfurd*[6] calls it 4,000 per cent. when at 15s. a bushel. He says that in some parts of India in 1823, salt rose to 12 rupees (24s.) a maund (82 lbs.) Mr. *Campbell*[7] gives the salt net revenue for the year 1849-50 at £2,703,752, or more than the opium and salt revenue in 1833.

Mr. *Crawfurd* gives the net revenue paid by each person as follows:—

	Per Head.
1793-4.....	8,060 pence.
1803-4.....	10,516 ,,
1813-14	9,229 ,,
1823-24	8,730 ,,
1833-34	5,929 ,,

The consumption is said to be 12 lbs. per head in each year. Besides the salt made by the East India Company is now im-

[1] Munnoo, chap. 7, Works of Sir W. Jones, 1799, vol. iii. pp. 258, 259.
[2] Ghee, or melted butter, made from buffalo's milk.
[3] Book East India Affairs, vol. 1836, (Produce) p. 190.
[4] And tax on *Grain*.
[5] Akber, in 1562, abolished the *Jezia*, or Capitation tax on infidels. Elphinstone's History of India (1841) vol. ii, p. 326.
[6] Book (Produce) 1839, No. 80, p. 196.
[7] Modern India, p. 433.

ported from England, Madras, and Bombay. Rock salt comes from the *Punjab*,[1] and other salt comes from the *Sambre Lake;* the latter belongs to the Rajahs of *Jypoor* and *Jodhpoor*. The salt from places not in the regulation districts of Bengal, is now admitted to be sold on paying a certain duty. Salt can be made in any quantity on the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, and of Ceylon, at a reasonable cost.

The Natives of India do not like the *Europe* salt so well as that made by the Company, or Indian salt. The former is used by them; but it is so mixed up with the Indian salt, and adulterated, that the *Cheshire* people would not fancy or recognize their *own* manufactured article. It is the Salt of *Commerce*, but it is cooked for the Indian market in India. Adulteration is the order of the day—the *rule*, and not the *exception!* I find that Natives of rank and those who can afford to do so, re-cook the salt, and by a certain boiling process, *purify* the salt for domestic use. The impurities of salt have been stated[2] as follow:—

	Impurities.	Pure Muriate of Soda.
Lymington (cat.)	12	988
Do. (com.)	63	937
Scotch (com.)	64½	935½

Siam supplies Sincapore with good salt.[3]

In 1850-51 there were 33,282[4] tons of salt sent from Great Britain. There were also 19,433 tons sent from Madras and Bombay. It costs as much to send from these places as to ship from England; because the Liverpool ships can send it in ballast, while the Indian coasting vessels have often no return cargoes.

The importation of salt from England for consumption in the Upper Provinces of Bengal cannot be available, till a railway shall be completed. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company[5] gives $2\frac{2}{4}$ pence per ton per mile. This is nearly one halfpenny ($\frac{1100}{4400}$) for 400 miles. The cost of the salt is about one penny a pound ($\frac{78}{52}$). I estimate that the 33,282 tons of salt sent to India from England, would employ about 60 ships. This, of course, throws some of the Indian coasting vessels out of employ.

"Salt is made in Bengal on advances to the *Molungees*[6] in the

[1] From which Runjeet Sing raised a considerable revenue.

[2] Mr. *Worthington* deputed from Cheshire. Vol. 1839, Produce (Salt) 12th May, 1836, pp. 3, 4, 6 (*Ext.*)

[3] The *Indian* salt is not so good as *English* or *Europe* salt for *curing meat!*

[4] 33,280 tons × 2,240 lbs. = 74,551,680 ÷ 12 lbs. = 6,212,640 person's consumption.

[5] Report 22, Feb. 1847. See Bombay Railways Report, p. 59.

[6] Manufacturers of salt.

presence of the agent."[1] The nearer the sea the less the cost in making salt. "It is not refined, it only undergoes one boiling." Mr. *Ramsay* thought the Indian salt better than that used in England. It is not so bitter as the English salt. He said "Salt was adulterated after leaving the Company's Godowns."[2] But is not the salt from England also adulterated? Assuredly. He said a "remuneration is paid to the Zemindar by the salt agent; but that is a remuneration for the right their ancestors held, and that the Natives who manufacture the salt pay a revenue for the lands occupied by them for the manufacture." The first purchasers "purchase what is called the *Tunkas*,[3] and those *Tunkas* are sold to merchants in the interior, who receive the salt at the agency warehouses, and carry the salt into the different districts." It is said that one salt agency in Bengal has been abolished. Any ceasing to make Company's salt must throw many Molungees out of employ.[4]

DEPOTS IN THE INTERIOR.

Depôts in the interior of the country are much wanted. There is no full control over the retail-dealers. "In *retail*, the salt sells within 20 miles to all sides from Calcutta, at 4 rupees 4 anas to 4 rupees 12 anas per buzar maund,[5] and beyond the 20 miles it sells at from 4 rupees 12 anas to 5 rupees 4 anas of the same salt." The superintendants of the Company's salt *Golahs*[6] are authorized to sell salt within their districts in lots of from 5 maunds to 100 maunds, at a time[7] to each individual, for the use of the adjacent villagers of the salt Golahs, at the same rate as the Salt Board sells it at Calcutta, where it is not sold under lots of 50 maunds.

Mr. *Peacock*[8] said—"I am aware that the Bengal salt is not fit for curing provisions. The Bengal salt is *boiled* salt, not *bay* salt. The large grained *bay* salt is better for curing than the large grained salt of *Cheshire*, and *foreign* salt is better than the *Cheshire* for curing[9]." The Board of Salt and Opium, etc., stated

[1] Evidence of Hon. Andrew Ramsay, B. C. S., formerly Salt Agent at the 24 Pergunnahs (Calcutta), and at Tumlook, 1818.

[2] Warehouses (*Golahs*). This matter requires much inquiry.

[3] *Tunka* is an order for the delivery of the salt.

[4] The old system of only allowing large quantities of salt to be sold, rendered the *rich* Natives who did buy salt a sort of sub-monopolists; and hence *they* could *retail* it at any price they chose to ask for it. This has been abolished.

[5] A "Native account" (as to Company's salt.)

[6] Where salt is stored.

[7] Used to be sold in lots of 5,000, 1,000, and 500 maunds.

[8] Examiner of Indian Correspondence. Book, East Indian Affairs. (*Produce*) p. 70 (1839).

[9] Some think Marseilles salt best for curing meat.

35527

in 1835[1]—"It is well known that, from prejudice or custom, or taste or superstition, or a combination of the whole, a very great proportion of the people of Bengal prefer our *Fungah* salt[2]. On the other hand, and probably from the same mixed motives, a considerable amount of the population prefer the imported *Kurkutch*[3]. It is, indeed, the cheaper article, and this may also be considered as the cause of the preference adverted to."

Salt imported in Calcutta, including imported salt[4]:—

1835-36.....	43,03,541 maunds[5]
1845-46.....	60,86,898 ,,

SALT IMPORTED.

1835-36.....	4,32,500 maunds.
1845-46.....	18,13,966 ,,

SALT IMPORTED.[6]

	British.	Foreign.
1846-47....	39,56,198	37,923
1847-48....	48,97,334	3,05,495
1848-49....	38,15,974	2,90,873
1849-50....	38,67,333	9,78,701
1850-51....	48,79,781	10,78,231
May 1851 to Sept. 51....	21,39,373	4,42,677

Salt imported into Calcutta from Great Britain, Madras, and Bombay[7]:—

	Great Britain.	Madras.	Bombay.
1846-47 mds	..3,35,156	87,326	5,11,254
1847-48 ,,	..7,07,095	17,122	3,68,002
1848-49 ,,	..4,44,068	1,62,934	3,38,303
1849-50 ,,	..6,05,958	2,38,588	5,11,153
1850-51[8] ,,	..9,09,178	85,576	4,48,844
To Sept. 1851, 5 months ,,	..4,42,431	40,308	1,09,730

Thus it appears that a considerable quantity of salt has been sent to Calcutta from Great Britain.

In the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Com-

[1] 5th March, par. 9, Book (Produce), 1839, p. 135, Appendix to Report.

[2] Manufactured from brine, containing a proportion of the waters of their most venerated rivers, having no *impurities* of leather, or tar and grease of ships.

[3] *Khar* is the brine. It comes from Madras or Bombay.

[4] Return to Order of House of Commons, 29th June, 1847.

[5] Of 82lbs.

[6] Wilkinson's Imports and Exports of Calcutta.

[7] Parliamentary Papers.

[8] 33,282 tons.

mons, the Chairman (Mr. *Wilbraham*) stated[1]:—"Aware, however, that the safety of such a change must, in a great degree, depend upon local circumstances, of which they may not be in full possession, and unwilling, in the *existing state of the finances of India*, to recommend positively any measure which might *possibly endanger any portion of the revenue*, in deference also to the high *Indian* authorities, who dispute the practicability of a system of excise in that country, your Committee are not prepared to go farther at present on that point, than to call upon the Government to give to it the most serious and early attention."

The recommendations of the above Committee as to the lots for the sale of salt in not less than 100 maunds has been complied with, and even sold in much less quantities, as has been shown. The system of *periodical* sales has been abolished. That, of course, led to speculations among the *sub-monopolists*, who, being *rich*, made the *poor* pay high prices. As to the *duty*, the Committee recommended—"That the duty to be imposed shall be fixed at the lowest rate *consistent with the maintenance of the revenue*, and not exceeding the average rate of the net profit of the Company's monopoly for the last ten years."[2]

"If these recommendations are fully and fairly carried out, they will, in the opinion of your Committee, reduce the *monopoly*[3] of the Company to one solely of *manufacture*,[4] and destroy the *sub-monopolies*[5] which have necessarily accompanied the existing system. The difficulties which have hitherto stood in the way of a fair competition between Native and imported salt being thus removed, they hope that a wholesome and important trade from Madras to Ceylon[6] may be encouraged; and that British commerce may be no longer shut out from the advantage of conveying a cheap, good, and bulky article of British produce to a distant portion of the globe.[7]

The Committee desired to serve the interests of the consumer, and to protect the revenue; they wished for "*free competition*,"

[1] Book (Produce) 1839, (Extract) my *italics*, 2d August, 1836.

[2] The reductions have been various within the last few years, from three rupees to two rupees twelve anas, and lastly to two and a half rupees (about 5*s*.) per maund.

[3] It cannot *now* be a *monopoly*, since *Cheshire* may send any quantity of salt to India, or *Spain*, or any *foreign* country. The Corporation of London City has *the duty on coals*, a monopoly.

[4] The *Manchester* Association object to this, as the East India Company are no longer merchants trading to the East Indies.

[5] At one time no quantity under 50,000 maunds (or enough for 341,666 persons for a year at 12lbs. each) was sold to the rich Calcutta Baboos.

[6] Ceylon complained of their salt not being taken by Bengal. The Madras salt is cheaper than that of Bengal. It is made by the cheap process of *solar evaporation*.

[7] Australia must become a good customer very soon.

they have it now. Mr. *Campbell*[1] gives the cost of Company's salt at 6s. 6d. the maund. Cost of Cheshire salt is put down at 15s. the ton, or about 1s. 6d. the maund. The cost of freight must be a principal ingredient in the cost of salt when landed.

BOMBAY SALT TRADE.

Mr. *Ayrton*[2] states that the quantity of foreign matter in the Bombay salt varies from one-eighth to one-twentieth, while the price at Calcutta of Bombay salt is about fifty rupees, and of English stove salt, 124 rupees per 100 Indian maunds.[3] That the freight usually paid for salt from Bombay to Calcutta is about ten rupees a ton, (or 20s.) but to this freight the charge of boat and coolie hire in Bombay, not less than a rupee a ton, and similar charges in Calcutta, have to be added. The object of the article is to show "that salt can be placed on a railway at *Bombay* cheaper than on one at *Calcutta*, by eleven rupees (22s.) a ton. *Bombay*, *Madras*, and *Ceylon* salt, is made by solar evaporation in pans. In *Bengal* it is made by boiling, the more expensive process.

The *late* Bengal monopoly of salt had to supply about 37,000,000 of people.[4] In the North-West Provinces we have 23,000,000 of people to supply, and part of the salt used at and below Benares, now comes from the *Sambre* Lake and *Punjab Salt Range*, upon which a duty is levied.

We require depôts at all places between Calcutta and Benares, and below Calcutta—indeed in places above Benares. No doubt the existence of a railway will be the means of conveying salt at a cheap rate, and there should be a severe Act to punish the *adulteration of salt*. At present, the sending *down* the Up country salt would be a cheaper plan than by sending salt *up* the River Ganges by boats.

If salt were cheaper it would be more used, and an inferior kind would be freely given by the natives to cattle, and it might be used as manure.[5] It is usual to give salt in India to the

[1] Modern India, p. 381; see Book (Produce), 1839, p. 7.

[2] An article by Mr. Ayrton, Report, p. 14, Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company (1847).

[3] Calcutta Exchange Price Current, 20th August, 1846.

[4] Mr. Henry St. George Tucker's statement regarding the year 1828.

[5] In Scotland a patent was taken out by the father of the Earl of Dundonald for the use of *sea-water* as *manure* for land. Dr. *Robert Howard* denounces the use of salt, (see 2 Esdras, chap. v., verses 8, 9, 10) as producing all kinds of diseases. *Elisha* healed the waters—"Thus saith the Lord, I have healed the waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren *land*." *Job* (chap. vi., verse 6) says—"Can that which is unsavoury be eaten without salt?" *Mark* (chap. ix., verse 50)—"Salt *is* good; but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it?" Some people eat no salt; but most men and animals suffer if they eat no salt, or some equivalent. One friend of mine eats no salt, another eats *mustard* only with *plum-pudding*. There is no accounting for taste!

elephants, to horses, bullocks, sheep, etc. The gun bullocks have always had it. They eat the Company's Nimuk (salt).[1] I have often, in former days, seen the gun bullocks drawn up in two lines facing each other, and the salt put into the *grain* in presence of an Artillery Officer.

[1] *Nimuk haram* means ungrateful, or not worth his salt; or the *salt* he uses in *his* food, etc.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUGAR GROWING DISTRICTS IN INDIA, ETC.

THE great sugar growing countries of India, are[1] the central districts of the Valley of the Ganges; the Benares district, including Ghazeepoor, and the whole province of Benares. It is now greatly grown in Rohilkund; but the province of Benares supplies the great quantity. It is sent up by boats to Calpee[2] to Agra and Delhi, and it is there disembarked and sent on camels or in carts far into the interior. There is no limit to the cultivation of the sugar cane in the province of Benares: "it could supply the whole world." Central Asia derives its sugar principally from the Valley of the Ganges.

Madras.—Mr. *Prideaux* said,[3]—"At Madras they have only recently commenced the sugar cultivation upon any extended scale, and it appears likely to supersede Bengal."[4] Captain *A. Cotton* wrote on the 1st June, 1844, as to the cultivation of sugar in Rajamundry,[5] "I have reason to believe that it may be considered almost unlimited." It is also made at Ganjam, at Aska, at Bimlapatam, Vizagapatam, and in the Northern Circars. In the year 1845, there were exported from Madras only 5,731 tons of sugar.[6]

Bombay.—"A large quantity of the sugar consumed in Bom-

[1] Vol. (1840) Produce, p. 85, Evidence of Sir C. E. Trevelyan, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, formerly of the Bengal Company's Service.

[2] The sugar made at Calpee is prized by the Natives, as the water of the sacred stream of the Jumna is used in the manufacture. The Culpee sugar is the best sugar in India, and has been known for the last 40 years as of a very superior kind. The purity of the sugar is said to be owing to the water of the river being so pure. It is a sacred river. The celebrated sacred city of *Muthra*, is on the bank of the Jumna.

[3] East India House, 1st Report, 1848, p. 127.

[4] Captain (now Lt.-Col.) *Cotton*, Chief Engineer, has been engaged the last four years in making a dam across the Godavery river to the extent of four miles, and by other arrangements has prepared lands to the extent of 320,000 acres capable of growing sugar cane.

[5] First Report, 1848, p. 127.

[6] First Report, p. 132.

bay is imported.[1] Bombay does not produce enough for its consumption." It failed in Salsette. In 1847, India is said to have supplied one-fourth, and since one-third of the sugar consumed in the United Kingdom;[2] and could supply the whole amount required. Mr. *Prideaux* said,[3] "he believed the invariable practise of those who manufactured sugar in India for the English market has been not to grow *cane*, but to purchase *goor* or *jaggory*, and refine it." Mr. *Tucker* said,[4] "the Benares sugar undergoes some little process, not of actual refining, but still of separating from it the impurities of the molasses; it is a dry sugar packed in bags,[5] not in hogsheads like the West India sugar."

Mr. *Arthur Crooke* said,[6] "Tirhoot cannot compete with lands in tropical climates." Calcutta is in lat. 22° 33′ N. All the places at Madras are *within* the tropics; in Bengal they are *out* of the tropics. The Mauritius is in lat. 20° 10′ S. Porto Rico, about lat. 19°. Cuba, about 23°. Tirboot is in lat. 25° to 27° N. lat.

Mr. *N. Alexander*, as to the Bengal sugar, said,—"Bengal (as indeed the rest of India) as a sugar-producing country, is not like the West Indies, where, when the sugar is made, there is no local demand for it, and it must be shipped to England; in Bengal there is not only a foreign demand, but the internal consumption of the country is so great,[7] that the export of sugar by sea is but a small part of the annual production of the country, and if such export were to cease altogether, it would make little difference in the price of the article; independent of the fact that a large trade in sugar has arisen between Bengal and the nations to the north and west, which is fast increasing, and which will give India an outlet for her sugar, so that India will not lose much by a cessation of sugar shipments to England."[8]

Duties paid for the last 3 years upon sugar which passed the north and west frontiers: the duty is:—

Upon fine sugar, 8 anas per maund[9], 11 pence, or 1s. 3d. the cwt. Upon inferior, 3 anas, or less than half the above.

[1] Mr. Prideaux, p. 132.
[2] Eighth Report, 1848, p. 3, 8.
[3] First Report, 1848, p. 127.
[4] East India Director, 1st Report, 1848, p. 120.
[5] Made of Gunny from *Jute* or *Hemp*. The casks do not pack so closely.
[6] First Report, 1848, p. 25.
[7] Above 500,000 tons some say; or 500,000 tons × 2,240 lbs. = 1,120,000,000 ÷ 12 = 93,333,333 persons, supposing each to consume 12 lbs. a-year only. I believe the quantity is very much more.
[8] There might be a greater shipment from Madras than from Bengal to Europe, and Bengal might send her sugar to the North-West and Central Asia.
[9] 82 lbs. the maund, and 27⅓ maunds to a ton.

The duties levied in the year
ending 30th April, 1844.....5,74,954 rupees.
Do. do. 1845.. .....5,24,556 ,,
Do. the last year.....6,58,362 ,,

A great deal of this is fine sugar; it is sugar that is to go over the mountains into *Tartary* and into *Russia*,[1] and the carriage being so great an expense, they generally take the finest qualities; probably the amount may by this time have increased to 70,000 tons exported to the north-west of India, which is quite a new means of export for their sugar, and which, with the internal consumption, would enable India to refuse giving us sugar for England below a certain price.[2]

"It goes into *Tartary*, and finds its way into *Russia* and *Persia*, and now the *Punjab* is settled, the merchants come down and take it away, to trade with it in other countries. It is a new source of trade to India, and we are also getting a very large export trade for British manufacturers[3] in the same way."[4]

Mr. *Tucker* said[5], the East India Company did not import much sugar. It was taken as dead weight.[6] It was not looked to as a remittance: and that sugar and saltpetre constituted the dead weight of our ships.

Mr. *L. Wray*, a sugar planter in the West Indies ten years, and three years in Bengal,[7] had seen the districts of Allahabad, Benares, Juanpoor, Azimghur, Ghazeepoor, Burdwan, Patna, and others. He saw very little difference in the cultivation. "Where the hot winds prevail,[8] it is necessary to irrigate to a large extent, and the expense of that, at times, is very great, notwithstanding the cheapness of labour in the East Indies. The cultivation of the cane in India may be considered almost entirely Native, because the proportion of the European cultivation to Native is so utterly insignificant, that it will not bear a comparison. If we calculate the number of inhabitants of British India at 100,000,000,[9] which is very much under the number gene-

[1] We found at Cabool in 1839, fine large loaves of sugar, said to have come from Roos (Russia). Sugar would be had cheaper from our North-Western Provinces.

[2] How would this interfere with the export trade of the United Kingdom, in the article of sugar?

[3] See Appendix (A).

[4] The free navigation of the Indus was intended to effect this object.

[5] First Report, 1848, (17 Feb.) p. 118, alluding to the time of the trade of the East India Company.

[6] It is supposed that the merchants in England send out salt partly as "dead-weight," with a general cargo.

[7] First Report, 1848, p. 45.

[8] Not at Burdwan (between 22° and 24° N. lat., long. 87° 57′ E.)

[9] Mr. Herries (President of the Board of Control) assumed 150,000,000. Speech, House of Commons, 19th April (Times, 20th, 1852). Mr. Campbell's Modern India, p. 231, gives 101,862,916.

rally allowed, and if we suppose that each individual eats only *one pound* of sugar on an average during a month, that is an extremely small average, for every person who has been in India knows that the Natives eat a large quantity of sugar."

Lieut.-Colonel *Sykes*, in his evidence,[1] said:—"I would guard the Committee against a fallacy with reference to the supposed consumption of sugar in India." The Natives may not *eat* much *sugar*, but they certainly eat very large quantities of sweetmeats, goor, etc., mixed with flour.

"It is understood," says a Native account, "that half a seer of sugar or goor is used monthly by each individual, say man, woman, or child, of both classes, rich and poor. Many people eat sugar cane in India. The sugar used by the Natives here, is not of the finest kind, but of the coarse kind and the cheapest. There are several kinds of *sweetmeats* called *meethaees*, which are generally prepared with meal flour, fine flour, rice flour, and the flour of several kinds of grain. In boiling the flour, etc., with ghee and sugar for the finest kind of meethaees, and in boiling with common ghee and khar,[2] for the common kind of meethaees, and some meethaees are prepared with flour, curd, or cream, and ghee."

"The following names are for the meethaees of their kind—meethaee, guzza, zelapee,[3] muttecchoor, nalmohun, channa-burra, pantooah, russogollah, parrakee, buddeah, channa bhuzza, sur-bhuzzah and khozzah. Sundays is a kind of sweetmeat made with sugar and curd for the best kind, and those are made with khar for the common kind. Khoychoor is a kind of sweetmeat made with khar and dry cocoa-nuts' kernel for the common kind, and with sugar and dry cocoa-nuts for the finest kind. Burphee and golapee perrah, are prepared with thick milk, sugar (not with much sugar), and rose water; they sell at two seers, and sometimes one and a-half seer, (or four pounds or three pounds) per rupee; these are the finest kinds of sweetmeats."

Many of the Natives eat sugar cane, and many animals eat sugar cane, as elephants, horses, etc. The sweetmeats containing one pound of sugar would, mixed with flour, etc., weigh twice or thrice as much as the sugar.

Beet Root Sugar.[4]—It appears that France consumes 120,000 tons of sugar, etc.,; 60,000 tons of beet-root, 50,000 colonial and 10,000 foreign. From the 1st of January, 1852, beet-root sugar

[1] First Report, 1848, p. 78, Answer to Question 631.

[2] "By boiling the sugar-cane juice they make goor, from goor they make khar, from khar they make sugar, from sugar they make sugar-candy, from sugar-candy they make woollah."

[3] Or Jelapee, carried about at night with a light in the basket in the streets.

[4] The Daily News, 19th January, 1852.

was to pay a heavier duty than colonial. The following are the proportions of sugar and beet-root sugar used:—

Beet-root sugar in the Zollverein, Hanover, Hanse Towns.

	Cane Sugar.	Beet-root Sugar.	Total.
1848	60,500 tons	26,000	86,500
1849	54,000 ,,	34,000	88,000
1850	45,000 ,,	43,000	88,000
1851	45,000 ,,	43,000	88,000

Russia 85,000 of which 35,000 tons are beet-root.

Orders at the Havannah constantly decreasing, and the prices getting lower. In 1848 Austria consumed 40,000 tons (8,000 beet-root—last year she produced 15,000 tons). The Brazilian and Cuban sugars will encumber the English market, independently of the refined sugar of Java, which Holland sends to Great Britain.

Consumed by	Cane Sugar.	Beet-root.
1850 France	120,000 tons	of which 60,000 tons
Belgium	14,000 ,,	7,000 ,,
1848 Austria	40,000 ,,	8,000 ,,
Russia	85,000 ,,	35,000 ,,
Tons	259,000	110,000

The Savans of France (under the continental system and decrees of Milan and Berlin), recommended *beet-root* sugar to put down *Colonial* sugar, and required the co-operation of chemical science and agricultural improvement.

The Irish Beet Root Sugar Company obtained a Charter on the 8th of March, 1852. "The object is to manufacture, at Mount Mellick and at Donoughmore, in Queen's County, sugar from the *White Silesian* beet-root. Suitable premises at both places have been secured at small rents." etc. "In France, and Belgium especially, where the manufacture is carried on upon an extensive and rapidly-increasing scale, it appears that considerable profits are realized." What effect will this have on the *English* market, if *Ireland* makes her own sugar?

"The value of sugar depends upon the amount of saccharine matter contained in the cwt.[1] 112lbs. of *Cuba* yielded 102lbs. of white saccharine matter, while of *Demerara* there were only 84lbs. The great bulk of colonial sugar yields, on an average, 70 per cent. of pure product, while the greater part of the foreign sugar, from its having undergone a double process of manufacture, yields from 80 to 100 per cent., making the average of 90

[1] Book (Produce) 1848; Answer to Question 3994.

per cent.; showing a difference of 28½ per cent. against the British planter between the ostensible and the real protection."

Mr. *R. M. Martin*[1] declared the quantity of sugar produced in India on one acre to be from twelve to fifteen cwt. In the Mauritius eighteen to twenty cwt. In Jamaica thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty cwt., according to the soil. In Demerara it varies per acre from two to three, four, and sometimes five hogsheads per acre, each hogshead containing sixteen cwt.

Java.[2]—The production of 60,000 tons of sugar employs 150,000 persons, heads of families (equal to 750,000 persons). The population, in 1845, was 10,000,000 of people. "*Beet root* sugar[3] is very weak sugar, and sells lower than Martinique or Guadaloupe. It is generally used in Germany and Silicia." There are three qualities of cane[4] in Tirhoot. *China* (probably from China). The best the *Bagga*, upon the Gunduck. The *Negouree* cane is inferior, not thicker than the little finger. The *Otaheite* cane did not succeed the first year. *Koonties* are the second year's growth. The *white Ants* like the Otaheite cane[5] better than the native canes. The Natives plant the canes touching, to prevent white ants destroying the canes. The Otaheite cane in Tirhoot does not yield ten maunds on an average. Two tons *have* been obtained from one acre.[6] Mr. *Wray* said[7] the cane near Calcutta is much better than in the upper provinces.[8] The cultivation of an acre yielded from eight to thirty maunds of *Goor*[9]—one pukka[10] beegah is equal to two-thirds of an English acre. The rent of land is four rupees (8s.) per annum, per beegah; has been known to be five to ten rupees; ten maunds of Goor are about the average yield per acre.[11] The white ants, jackals,[12] wild pigs, in other districts wild elephants, and also the *hot winds*, affect the sugar cane. Then the high rate of boat-hire to Calcutta are serious drawbacks. The great quantity of succulent and rich matter in it causes the white ants to attack the Otaheite cane. Sometimes the Native cane is burnt up by the *hot winds*.[13] As to labourers,

[1] Book (Produce) 1840, p. 223.
[2] Eighth Report, No. 1, 1848, p. 165.
[3] Eighth Report, No. 1, 1848, p. 133, Question, 5,521.
[4] First Report, 1848, p. 13.
[5] First Report, 1848, p. 24, as thick as a man's wrist.
[6] A beegah in Tirhoot is about two-thirds of an acre.
[7] First Report, 1848, p. 48.
[8] The nearer the sea, one gentleman from Tirhoot tells me, the better for growing sugar.
[9] Raw sugar.
[10] Full sized.
[11] In Tirhoot.
[12] The tiger's or lion's provider.
[13] In March, 1819, the cold (both heat and cold produce the same effect) killed the sugar cane near Oodeepoor; the cane became quite black at the top, as if burnt by fire. Oodepoor is in latitude 25° 28′ N. Longitude 74° 5′ E.

Mr. *Wray* said,[1] "I am convinced that no *negro* in the world can work with a *Chinaman*." The Chinaman at Canton will carry as heavy weights, or loads, as any man in the United Kingdom.[2] This seemed to be used as an argument against the Indian Coolies.

Date Sugar.—A great deal of sugar is made from the date tree. Mr. *J. U. Ellis* said that at Madras the sugar was made from *Palmyra Jagry*.[3] They make sugar from the cane in the Vigagapatam district[4] by the European process. "Sugar plantations are in progress of being made on the banks of the Godaveri." It is 300 or 400 miles from Madras. Its source is in the western Ghauts, about seventy miles to the north-east of Bombay. "After its separation near Rajamundry, it forms the island of Nagur, which comprehends about 500 square miles, and is, on account of its fertility, of great value in proportion to its extent."[5] It is to preserve this land that Lieut.-Colonel *Cotton*, Chief Engineer, Madras, has been engaged in making a dam. These 500 square miles give $500 \times 640 = 320{,}000$ acres. If we suppose 250,000 acres to be cultivated, then at two-thirds of a ton per acre we shall have 166,666 tons of sugar, or nearly half the consumption of the United Kingdom,[6] so that, including the other districts noted, and the Madras Presidency, may produce 200,000 tons. *Bombay* only supplies its own demand; *Bengal* exports about 70,000 tons, and can export much more; the Mauritius exports about 60,000 tons.

Mr. *Huskisson* in the House of Commons, 2nd of May, 1822, said[7] that the greatest export of sugar from India was in the year 1795! What a change since.

To Great Britain	11,000 tons.
To other parts	4,000 do.
Total....	15,000.

The quantity of sugar produced in India for its own consumption, taking the population at 150,000,000 of people, at 12 lbs. per head, per annum, will be 803,571 tons,[8] which is more than

[1] First Report, 1848, p. 66.

[2] The South Americans are powerful porters or carriers of loads. The Cornish Miners who went to South America could not lift the same loads.

[3] Seventh Report, 1848, p. 27. A species of date tree.

[4] As remarked by a gentleman long employed in Tirhoot, being near the sea is a great advantage for the cultivation of the cane. Hence Rajamundry is 40 miles from the sea, and Vigagapatam and Ganjam are on the sea coast; and produce good sugar.

[5] Rennel, etc., Hamilton's Gazetteer.

[6] Now about 350,000 tons annually.

[7] Book (Produce) 1840, Appendix, No. 36, p. 592, sugar.

[8] $150{,}000{,}000 \times 12 = 1{,}800{,}000{,}000$ lbs. $\div 2240 = 803{,}571$ tons!

double the quantity consumed in the United Kingdom; and more than is consumed in all Europe. I find that the consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom, at 350,000 tons, gives 20¾ lbs. per head; but if we reduce the above large amount to 18 lbs. per head, we arrive at the conclusion that the English, Irish, and Scotch consume 50 per cent. more than the Natives of India.

The duty on sugar affects the amount of the export of sugar from India.

Duty at	32	shillings[1]	1833-34	tons	10,037
do.	24	do.	1834-35	,,	13,333
			1835-36	,,	10,864
			1836-37	,,	22,404
			1837-38	,,	29,705

With a less duty we have:—

		Elsewhere.
1840-41	66,030[2]	2,669
1841-42	55,823	2,675
1842-43	60,505	1,206
1843-44	59,095	231
1844-45	58,385	812
1845-46	67,010	252
1846-47[3]	82,021.	1,145
1847-48	61,978	
1848-49	60,751	
1849-50	62,610	
1850-51	60,184	

The lowering of the duty caused more sugar to be sent to England and less to "Elsewhere;" but the *high freights* (at one time £10 per ton), and the high prices of sugar in Calcutta, produced many *failures*.[4] These melancholy facts are to be read with great interest in the work entitled, "The *Commercial Crisis* of 1847 and 1848." Freights began to fall to £4, which is about the present rate from Bengal, and is considered a remunerating, or rather paying rate, but often it falls below the last named figure.

Another element in the "*Sugar Trade*" is the selling price of the London Price Current.

In the year	1774	the selling price was	36s.	4d. Cwt.[5]
	1778	do.	51	3
	1782	do.	66	4
	1788	do.	47	6

[1] Book (Produce) 1840. Appendix, No. 14, p. 562.

[2] First Report, 1848, p. 35. Freights were about £10 per ton—the golden days for shipping.

[3] Wilkinson's Imports and Exports from Calcutta.

[4] The duty was lowered in July, 1852; and is now.

[5] Book 1832, Sugar Report, 29th February, 1792, p. 3, down to 1788.

1838	Average.	62 to 70s.
1840 (January to April)		67½ to 72s.

The cost of sugar was formerly low.[1] Mr. *Sweedland* wrote, "the cost of a maund of sugar was Sicca rupees 3 7 10½ (about 7s.), inclusive of commission and export warehouse charges." Mr. *D. Hill*[2] said that the Ganjam and Cuddapah sugar could not compete with that of the West Indies. The machinery was too expensive.

British Guiana[3] could produce 400,000 tons of sugar. The French colonies,[4] Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Bourbon, produce but 90,000 tons of sugar. Cuba and Porto Rico,[5] according to the *Economist*, are put down at 305,000 tons for the year 1848; while in 1842 and 1843, the utmost amount was from 150,000 to 160,000 tons. *Sir G. Larpent* said, "imputable to your having given a stimulus to the production of sugar in Cuba and Porto Rico." Here the remark may be made as stated in the "Englishwoman's experience in America" (1852), a reverend slaveholder said, "If you would cultivate more *cotton* in India, you would put down our slaves;" their occupation would then be gone.[6]

The Exports of Sugar from the Isle of France have increased:—[7]

Exported in 1834-35	.....	36,000 tons.
1836-37	.....	65,000 ,,
1846	.....	42,259 ,,
1847	.....	59,702 ,,

Mr. *E. Chapman* wanted a protective duty of ten shillings the cwt. He said, "We pay the Colonial allowance for the troops."[8] They get Coolies from India. They might obtain cheaper labourers from Madagascar—at eight shillings a month. Why is not this done?

I am borne out in my estimate of the consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom, now, at 20lbs. per head. The consumption of sugar in Great Britain (of course, excludes Ireland):—

	Ounces.		
In 1801	440	.....	27½ lbs.
1811	429	.....	26$\frac{13}{16}$,,
1821	333	.....	20$\frac{13}{16}$,,
1831	358	.....	22$\frac{5}{16}$,,

[1] Benares Factory, 20th February, 1821.
[2] Madras C. S. Book, 1832, p. 114.
[3] Fourth Report, 1848, p. 52.
[4] Do. p. 81. St. Domingo did supply 120,000 tons! France now taxes Beet-root sugar.
[5] Second Report, 1848 (Sugar), p. 44.
[6] By Marianne Finch, 1853.
[7] Second Report, 1848, p. 15 and 28.
[8] There was an export duty on the sugar at the Mauritius.

Indeed, the present consumption in the United Kingdom may be taken at 26½ lbs. Mr. *R. M. Martin* only gives 16lbs.

Assam,[1] it is said, yields as good sugar as any of the best Cuba. They have no *hot winds*, but plenty of rain.[2] The British Colonies will be able to supply the whole of the United Kingdom. France, Belgium, Austria, and Russia, consume about 369,000 tons of sugar, of which only part is made from the cane.[3] Java supplies Holland. Bengal Sugar must look for its market in Central Asia, and the Punjab, etc.; if Madras Sugar should turn out to be better than that of Bengal, as some Madrasses tell us.

Irish Beet Sugar Company.[4] It has a capital of £120,000, in 6000 shares of £20 each; £2 10s. per share paid up, with power to increase to £500,000 under the Charter.

On the 24th September, 1851, it is stated that "the calculation put forward by the promoters of the manufacture is, that fifteen tons of roots will yield a ton of refined sugar, and that the cost of manufacturing the same in well-managed continental factories, does not exceed £7 10s. Taking roots at 15s. per ton, the price at which they are supplied this season, it will be seen that a large return will be obtained."

"The cultivation of the roots will create an increased demand for agricultural labour, and the value of the crop will, according to the most moderate estimates, exceed that of any other produced on the same extent of land. It is estimated that the quantity of sugar consumed in *Ireland* is 50,000 tons,[5] which, at the rate of £20 per ton, exclusive of duty, amounts to £1,000,000. To manufacture this quantity, it would require 750,000 tons of beet-root (supposing fifteen tons of beet to yield *one* ton of sugar), the value of which, at 13s. per ton, would be £487,500! Here then, is a manufacture which, at the low estimates made, would distribute, in merely supplying actual consumption, nearly £500,000 in wages amongst a miserable part of the population."

"The researches of a competent authority prove that if the specific gravity of the juice of Irish-grown bulbous roots be tested by the *Saccharometer*,[6] in almost every instance the quantity of sugar indicated is greater than the corresponding results given in

[1] N. E. of Bengal, between 25° and 28° N. Lat., and 94° and 99° E. Long.

[2] They have had 240; but 200 inches is about the yearly average; when it rains, it pours. *Tea*, also, is grown in *Assam*.

[3] *England*, &c. consumes as much *Cane* sugar as all *Europe!*

[4] Incorporated by Royal Charter.

[5] 50,000 tons×2,240lbs.=112,000,000lbs.÷6,500,000 people, and we have about 17¼lbs. per head, or only about two-thirds of the quantity consumed in England.

[6] "An instrument used for testing sugar. It seems to indicate the degrees to which the juice expressed from the sugar-cane is concentrated, previously to undergoing the process of crystallization." (See Penny Cyclopædia, etc.)

French and *German* books, treating on the subject of beet-root sugar. Professor *Sullivan*[1] gives the following as the result of his experience upon White *Silesian* (sugar) beet, viz :—

	c
French (as given by Payen).....	10·00 per cent.
Irish, from Cork	13·24 ,,
Ditto, No. 1, from Dublin	11·98 ,,
Ditto, No. 2, ditto.....	12·60 ,,
Belgium	10·97 ,,

By a recent enactment of the National Assembly, the duty payable upon Colonial Muscovado is reduced to 45f. per 100 kilogrammes, while beet-root and foreign sugars of the same denomination are charged with an additional 10 per cent., or 50f. per 100 kilogrammes."[2]

Mr. *H. Crosley* tested sugar by "the *pneumatic* process, viz. with pure water, and with the pressure and passage of the atmospheric air." (7th Report, 1848, p. 391, Appendix, No. 8.)

Mr. *J. Wood*, Chairman of Excise said—"2415 grains of the juice were next operated upon, for the purpose of separating the *sugar* from the *molasses*, which was effected by means of an *air-pump*. When the *molasses*, by the pressure of the atmosphere, were freed from the sugar, the products were weighed, and found to be—

Molasses.....	736 grains.
Sugar.....	1679 ,,
Total..	2415

The proportions indicate:—

Sugar.....	69·52 per cent.
Molasses.....	30·48 ,,
Total..	100.00
Or, in....	112lbs.
Sugar.....	77·86
Molasses.....	34·14
Total..	112·00

"The Custom House wished to know what duty ought to be paid—sugar paying a higher duty than molasses."

[1] Of Dublin.
[2] Morning Chronicle.

A new kind of *Saccharometer* by Dr. *Jennings*, (21st January, 1847) —"The quantity of sugar required for each examination is, as the instrument is now constructed, ten ounces (of sugar), which is dissolved in twenty ounces of water to form the required solution." (4th Report, 1848, p. 153, Appendix No. 1.)

Beet-root Sugar.[1] "The manufacture of sugar from beet-root is carried on to a very considerable extent in several parts of the continent, particularly in France. It began in the latter, during the exclusion of colonial products, in the reign of Napoleon, and received a severe check at the return of peace, by the admission of West India Sugars at a reasonable duty. It is probable, indeed, that it would long since have been entirely extinguished, but for the oppressive additions made to the duties on colonial and foreign sugars in 1820 and 1821. After the last-mentioned epoch, however, the production of beet-root sugar began rapidly to increase; and such has been its progress, that though, in 1828, its produce did not exceed 4,000,000 *kilogrammes*,[2] it amounted, in 1838, to 39,199 kilogrammes." As the beet-root growers paid no duties, they undersold the colonists. In 1838, a duty of fifteen francs, 50 cents. per 100 kilogrammes,[3] on beet-root sugar, which, in 1840, was increased to 27f. 51 cents.[4] The duty on beet-root sugar has been lately increased, to protect the colonial sugar.

The *Cochin Chinese*[5] consume a great quantity of sugar; they eat it generally with their rice, which is the ordinary breakfast of people of all ages and stations.[6] "The Cochin Chinese not only preserve in sugar all their fruits, but even the greater part of their leguminous vegetables, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, artichokes, the grain of the *Lotus*, and the thick, fleshy leaves of the *Aloe*.[7] They fancy nothing is so nourishing as sugar. This opinion of its fattening properties[8] has occasioned a whimsical law. The body-guard of the King, selected for the purpose of pomp and show, are allowed a sum of money, and they are compelled by *law* to eat a certain quantity daily. This is to preserve the *embonpoint* and good looks of those soldiers who are honored by

[1] M'Culloch, p. 1195.

[2] A kilogramme is equal to 2⅕ lbs. English.

[3] About 5s. 9d. per cwt.

[4] About 11s. per cwt.

[5] Book (Produce) 1848, from Porter's Work on the Sugar Cane, p. 167 to 171.

[6] Children in England almost always used brown sugar and milk with rice fifty years ago.

[7] A young lady told Dr. S. Johnson that during his absence they had been talking about him—"And what *did* you say about *me*." "Why, Sir, we likened you to the *Aloe*, which only flourishes once in 100 years." The Doctor looked grateful for the compliment.

[8] The plantain is also fattening, and contains saccharine matter.

approaching so near the person of the King; and they certainly do honour to their master by their handsome appearance."

"Domestic animals, horses, buffaloes, elephants, are all fattened with sugar-cane in Cochin China."

Dr. *Rush*, of Philadelphia, says, in common with all who have analyzed it, that "sugar affords the greatest quantity of nourishment in a given quantity of matter of any subject in nature. Used alone, it has fattened horses and cattle in St. Domingo, for a period of several months, during the time when the exportation of *sugar*, and the importation of *grain*, were suspended, from the want of ships. The plentiful use of sugar in diet is one of the best preventives that ever has been discovered of the diseases which are produced by worms. Nature seems to have planted a love for this aliment in all children, as if it were on purpose to defend them from those diseases."

"*Sir John Pringle* tells us that the *plague* has never been known to visit any country where sugar composes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants."

Dr. *Slare* says, "the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, many reptiles and *flies* seem to be pleased and delighted with the 'specific relish of all sweets, and to distaste its contrary.'"

Drs. *Rush* and *Cullen*, and many other physicians, are of opinion, that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been lessened by the use of sugar. Dr. *Rush* observes that, "in disorders of the breast, sugar is the basis of many agreeable remedies, and it is useful in weaknesses and acid defluxions in other parts of the body."[1] Dr. *Fothergill* considered it an *anti-scorbutic*, and this is confirmed by well-known facts.

It was stated[2] that at the Mauritius, the taxes were £300,000 a-year, of which £240,000 were for a tax on 60,000 tons, at £4 a ton; that they were forbidden to obtain labourers from Madagascar, only seven or ten days' sail, hence they resorted to the duty on sugar to pay for the immigration of Coolies from India. The duty on sugar is ten shillings, and foreign sugar will be eventually reduced to the same rate of duty.

[1] "The celebrated Dr. Franklin took large quantities of blackberry jam for the pain in the stone, and found benefit from it; and that the medicinal part of the jam resided wholly in the sugar. From half a pint of syrup prepared by boiling brown sugar in water, and taken just before he went to bed, he declared he had often found the same relief that he did from a dose of *opium*."

[2] First Report, 1848, p. 221.

CHAPTER XXV.

TEA.

First known in Europe, being brought from India by the Dutch[1] in 1610. Brought into England in 1666. It was hardly known in this country till after 1650.[2] In 1660 it began to be used in coffee-houses; for in an Act passed that year, a duty of eightpence was laid on every gallon of coffee, chocolate, sherbet, and *tea*, made and sold. In 1664, the East India *Company bought two pounds two ounces of tea as a present to his Majesty*. In 1667, they issued the first order to import tea, directed to their agent at Bantam, to send home 100 lbs. of the best tea he could get! In 1689, instead of charging a duty on the *decoction*[3] made from the leaves, an excise duty of 5s. per lb. was laid on the tea itself. In 1789, there were 14,534,601 lbs. retained for home consumption. The duty was £12 10s. per cwt. The duty was 96 and 100 per cent. until 1st July, 1836, when by the 6 Wm. iv. it was made 2s. 1d. per pound.[4] On the 25th Sept. 1661, Mr. *Pepys* records in his Diary, "I sent for a cup of tea (a China drink), of which I had never drunk before." *Green* tea began to be used in 1715: thus it commenced with the reign of the Georges. The first tea-sale in London, on the abolition of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, took place in Mincing Lane, 19th August, 1834. Till that date the East India

[1] Haydn's Dictionary of Dates.

[2] *M'Culloch*, p. 1232. See *Milburn's Orient. Com.*, ii. 530, and *Macpherson's* Hist. Com. with India, pp. 130—132.

[3] When first introduced into England the physicians and chemists were consulted as to the best mode of using the said leaves. It was recommended that the leaves should be boiled, and afterwards mixed with *butter*, *salt*, and *pepper*. In those days, the phrase was, no doubt, "will you *eat* some tea?" Probably they referred to the mode of cooking *spinach*. It would very much resemble that vegetable if tea were so cooked. People spoil their tea by letting it stand till it becomes *bitter*. Take good *black* tea and perfectly boiling hot water, let them stand for 3½ or 4 minutes, pour out the tea and use *sugar-candy*, use *cream if good*.

[4] New duties will soon equalize all sugars.

Company supplied the United Kingdom with tea.[1] The following quantities were imported:—

	Pounds.	
1793	16,067,331	
1794	23,710,774	
1795	27,208,003	
1796	16,184,628	
1797	16,235,125	
1798[2]	41,873,112	
1799	15,090,080	
1800	15,165,368	—171,534,421
Average for 8 years..		21,441,802
1801	29,804,739	
1802	27,356,502	
1803	30,843,134	
1804	26,680,784	
1805	28,538,825	
1806	22,155,557	
1807[3]	12,599,236	
1808	35,747,224	
1809	21,717,310	
1810	19,791,356	
1811	21,231,849	—276,463,516
Average for 11 years..		25,133,846
1812	28,318,153	
1813[4]		
1814	26,110,550	
1815	25,602,214	
1816	36,234,380	
1817	31,467,373	
1818	20,065,728	
1819	23,750,413	
1820	30,731,105	
1821	30,731,105	—277,428,610
Average for 10 years..		27,742,861
1822	27,362,766	
1823	29,046,885	
1824	31,681,977	
1825	29,345,690	

[1] Book, 1832, Appendix, No. 27, p. 768.

[2] A very extraordinary importation. They were obliged to keep in their warehouses a year's supply of tea.

[3] A very small importation for that period.

[4] The Custom House Records burnt.

1826	29,840,401	
1827	39,746,147	
1828	32,678,546	
1829	30,544,382	
1830	31,897,546	
1831	31,648,922	313,793,262
Average for ten years		31,379,026

The increase of population will partly explain the nature of the increase,[1] but the lowering of the duty has been the chief cause.

In 1801	10,472,048
1811[2]	11,964,303
1821	20,963,666
1831	24,100,376
1841[3]	26,870,143

M'Culloch says[4] that "Mr. *Pitt* reduced the duty in 1784 from 119 to 12½ per cent. It checked smuggling and put a stop to adulteration.[5] The legal imports were trebled. In 1795 the duty was raised to 25 per cent., and, after successive augmentations in 1797, 1800, and 1803, it was raised in 1806 to 96 per cent. *ad valorem*, at which it continued till 1819, when it was raised to 100 per cent. on all teas that brought above 2s. per pound at the Company's sales." The effect of raising the tax caused a less consumption. The East India Company were directed[6] "from time to time to send orders for the purchase of great quantities of tea, and provide sufficient ships to import the same,[7] as being added to the stock in their warehouses, and the quantity ordered, and not arrived, shall amount to one year's consumption, according to the last preceding sales, always beforehand."

[1] Spackman's Statistics of the British Empire, 1843, p. 115.

[2] The Census of Ireland was not taken till 1821.

[3] The population in 1851, is very little more than it was in 1841.

[4] P. 1,233.

[5] Sloe leaves were mixed with it. But servants used to roll up the leaves, and sell the tea at half or a third of the original price.

[6] 24 Geo. III. (1784), cap. 38, sec. 5.

[7] All the China ships were disposed of in 1834, and the captains and officers got pensions or gratuities. The China fleet under Commodore *Dance* defeated a French squadron under Admiral *Linois*, on the 15th February, 1804, and saved a valuable cargo of tea (Annl. Reg. 1804, Appendix, China, p. 551).

PRODUCE OF TEA FROM CHINA AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA FOR 1847, 1848, AND 1849, ENDING 5TH JANUARY, 1850.[1]

	1847.	1848.	1849.
From China.....	55,355,590	47,346,817	53,102,915
British Possessions East Indies[2]....	230,919	309,908	188,701
Australia	2,327	7,126	527
Cape of Good Hope ..	11,077	80,443	98,435
United States, America	731	23,489	4,731
Brazil	18,755	256	2,171
Holland	91	196	45,957
Other parts	5,456	6,484	16,632
Total..	55,624,946	47,774,755	53,470,069

AGGREGATE RETAINED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

46,314,821	48,734,789[3]	50,021,576

Mr. *H. St. G. Tucker* explained the operation of purchasing tea:[4]—"Bills are purchased from us here and sent to China, where they are negotiated for the purchase of tea. The holders of tea probably purchase their opium by the same bills, and remit the bills to Calcutta,[5] so that it discharges the two accounts between the countries; virtually *opium* purchases *tea*. It was one transaction with us when we had the trade in our own hands—we purchased the *tea*; now it has passed into other hands, the British merchant takes a bill from us upon *Calcutta*. With that bill he purchases *tea*, and the proprietor of the *tea* purchases *opium*. China *sells tea*, China *purchases opium*, and the bill is remitted to *Calcutta* in fragments."[6]

It is said that the consumption of *coffee* depends upon the taste of the nation. *M'Culloch* says,[7] that the United Kingdom in 1842, consumed 37,355,912 lbs. of *tea*, and of coffee 28,519,646 lbs. In the year ending 5th January 1853, there were 54,724,615

[1] Tea Return, 12th Feb. 1850.
[2] Assam Tea, etc.
[3] A curious fact; more than imported in 1848.
[4] 1848 (1st. Report) 17th Feb. p. 117. Answer to Question 1245.
[5] The bills are drawn upon Calcutta.
[6] When any news arrives from China, the Marwa and other merchants, etc., in Calcutta, will send off a private *express* to Bombay to buy up the opium of Malwa, if the China market be favourable.
[7] P. 1234 and 298.

lbs. of *tea*, and 35,848,376 lbs. of *coffee* consumed.[1] It will be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to watch the great increase of *coffee*, and to see how far it may affect the *tea trade*. India and Ceylon may produce any amount of coffee. Tea has made but a very small commencement in India. Mr. *J. Horsely Palmer* thought[2] you might, by lowering the duty on tea, "increase the consumption to almost any extent." He was asked "why the consumption was decreasing in *America*." He said, "perhaps they like *coffee* better,[3] I only refer to this country where the consumption is so universal among the lower orders, and I believe (though I speak subject to correction)[4] that our importation is *principally of the lower quality of tea*. Seeing the manner in which the common people in this country consume *tea*, and the price they pay for it, there appears no reason to suppose that, if they could obtain double or treble the quantity at the same price, they would not take it."[5] He added, "that only 8,000,000 lbs. of *tea* are imported to the Continent by sea. Tea on the Continent is extremely cheap;[6] but still *coffee* has fallen (in price) in that degree that it will enable all persons to double their consumption." He was asked "are you aware that reducing the duty on coffee to one-fourth, the consumption has increased *twenty-fold*?" Answer: "I believe it has increased very largely."

An *ad valorem* duty. It seems that the best and worse teas are collected at different times, and hence they must take and ship as they find them.[7] The poor in England drink *black* tea, so do the *Chinese* and the *Americans*.

India tea.—Mr. J. C. Melvill[8] said, "it was known to the Court of Directors in the year 1788 (through *Sir Joseph Banks*), that the tea plant was a native of India. In 1835, Lord W. *Bentinck* wrote to the Court as to its existence in *Assam*. A tea garden was established by the Government.[9] The Government afterwards

[1] Imports into the United Kingdom, printed by order of the House of Commons, 14 Feb. 1853.

[2] Book, 1832, Appendix, p. 117, Answer to Question 1429.

[3] The Americans have, too, a lower freight for their ships. They have fewer seamen in their ships.

[4] My *Italics*. He would now perhaps change his opinion.

[5] The Chancellor of the Exchequer said (6th April, 1852), "that the lowering of the wine duties did not cause a greater consumption." I answer, "They are not customary wine drinkers. It is an *acquired taste*."

[6] And often extremely bad!

[7] Why not erect warehouses in China, and tell the tea merchants that you require such and such amounts of certain teas, at certain times. The East India Company had *Tea-Tasters!*

[8] 1840 (Produce Book. Tea plant), p. 39. Query—*a* for *the* Tea plant (in Assam).

[9] The late Major R. Bruce and the present Mr. C. Bruce, (sons of the late Lieut.-General R. Bruce, of Bengal) first made it known in India; Mr. C. Bruce obtained a *gold medal* from the Royal Society. When the Duke of

made over the Bengal tea gardens to the present Assam Tea Company.

The tea of the Neilgheries and of Mysore is a failure.

Himalaya Tea Lands.—Mr. *Fortune*[1] was sent to China in 1848 by the Court of Directors, to procure plants from the *northern* varieties—"a variety of the tea-plant existed in the *southern* parts of China from which inferior teas only were made." He procured 20,000 plants. He saw no place so well adapted for a central situation as Almorah or Hawulbaugh."[2] Mr. *Fortune* says, "to the Natives of India themselves, the production of this article would be of the greatest value." "A *Chinese* never drinks *cold water*, which he abhors, and considers unhealthy." "Tea is his favourite beverage from morning until night; not what we call tea, mixed with *milk* and *sugar*, but the essence of the herb drawn out of pure water."[3] "I am sure that the extensive use of this beverage adds much to the health and comfort of the great body of the people.[4] The people of India are not unlike the Chinese in many of their habits."[5] "But," he adds, "in order to enable him to drink *tea*, it must be produced at a cheap rate, he cannot afford to pay at the rate of four or six shillings a pound. It must be furnished to him at *fourpence* or *sixpence* instead, and this can easily be done, but only on his own hills."[6]

He writes of the making of *dyed* green tea from black with four parts of Gypsum to three parts of Prussian blue. The Chinese do this to please foreigners. He adds, "in every 100 lbs. of coloured green tea consumed in *England* or *America*, the consumer actually drinks more than half a pound of *Prussian Blue* and *Gypsum*."[7]

The Himalaya and Assam tea, might for the present, be used by the Europeans.[8] It has scarcely reached the point for expor-

Sussex was President, Major (now Lieut.-Col.) F. Jenkins, G. G., Agent in Assam, and Major Charlton, also, had medals for their exertions.

[1] Tea Districts of China, p. 392 to 394.

[2] Gurhwal and Kumaon, and many parts of the Himalayas are adapted, he said, for the cultivation of tea, p. 391.

[3] The Chinaman drinks tea all day. The quantity drunk by 300 millions of people must be immense. It is said a very large increase in the demand of tea for foreigners, could only be supplied in the course of five or six years, as it takes that time to produce fresh plants to bear the fruit.

[4] The English often drink tea for breakfast, and coffee after dinner; and some coffee for breakfast, and tea after dinner.

[5] The Budhists emigrated to China centuries ago from India.

[6] He writes of the *Paharie*, or hill peasant, in particular.

[7] Drinkers of *Green* Tea should recollect that they cannot tell whether they drink the *natural* or the *coloured* green teas (as practised in the Hwuy-chow green-tea country upon teas destined for the foreign market), so let them drink *black tea*, as I do.

[8] Officers and men, and civil services—European inhabitants, and for hospitals.

tation to Europe. It may also be sent to Central Asia (as sugar now is) from India.

The Assam Tea Company.—By the Report of the 22nd April, 1852, it appears "that the crop of tea manufactured in the past season, amounted to 271,427 lbs.,[1] showing an increase of about 18,000 lbs. over that of the previous year, and its sale has realized a nett total of £22,150 showing an average price of 1s. 8½d. per lb. nett." "The produce of 1847 realized £9,728 nett; that of 1848, £12,152; that of 1849, £16,628; that of 1850, £18,153; and that of 1851, as above stated, £22,152. The nett average price per pound in these years was, for 1847, 1s. 4d.; 1848, 1s. 5$\frac{1}{16}$d.; 1849, 1s. 6$\frac{3}{16}$d.; 1850, 1s. 6$\frac{3}{16}$d.; and 1851, 1s. 8½d. The crop for 1852 is expected to yield the same result. At the last meeting a dividend of 3 per cent. upon the paid up capital out of the profits of the past year was declared."

Mr. *Fortune*[2] states that "*Hokow* or *Hohow*, as it is called by the Southern Chinese, is one of the most important inland towns in the empire. It is situated in lat. 29° 54′ *North*, and in *long.* 116° 18′ east, on the left bank of the river *Kin-Keang*." "It is the great emporium of the black tea trade. Merchants from all parts of China come here, either to buy teas or to get them conveyed to other parts of the country." Large inns, tea-hongs, and warehouses, are met with in every part of the town, and particularly along the banks of the river. The town contains about 300,000 inhabitants."[3]

In his "Wanderings in China," published in 1846, he says[4]—"I made some observations upon the plants from which tea is made in different parts of China, while I acknowledged that the Canton plant, known to botanists as *Thea bohea*, appeared distinct from the more northern one called *Thea viridis*, I endeavoured to show that both black and green teas could be made from either, and that the difference in the appearance of these teas, in so far as colour was concerned, depended upon manipulation, and upon that only. In proof of this I remarked that the black tea plant found by me near Foo-chow-foo, at no great distance from the Bohea hills, appeared identical with the green-tea plant of Chekiang."

Having visited since, the green-tea country of Hwuy-chow, and the black-tea districts about Woo-e-shan, he has had no reason to alter his previous opinion. He now states[5] that, "at

[1] The sale, or nett total of £22,152.
[2] Visit to the Tea Districts of China and India by (Robert Fortune), 1852, p. 197.
[3] Might we not have an agent there?
[4] P. 273.
[5] P. 274. My *Italics*.

Canton, *green* and *black* teas are made from the *Thea bohea* at the *pleasure* of the manufacturer, and according to demand!"

But at Calcutta,[1] the Chinamen brought from China were desired by Mr. *Fortune* to exhibit the process of making tea to Dr. *Falconer*, at the Calcutta Botanical Garden. Not having any *tea* leaves, they went into the garden and brought back several parcels of leaves. They had lighted fires and everything was ready to proceed. "The leaves were now thrown into the pans and heated for a few minutes, then taken out and rolled, then shaken out thinly on bamboo trays to dry off the superfluous moisture, and finally thrown again into the pans and tossed about by the hands until perfectly twisted and dry. They were afterwards sifted and sorted into the various kinds known as hysonskin, hyson, young-hyson, imperial, and gunpowder. Some of the sorts were refined several times, and portions of some were coloured. When the operations were completed, the samples were so like the teas of commerce, that nineteen persons out of twenty would never have suspected them to be anything else. Here, then, were very fair-looking *green* teas made from the leaves of a large tree, as unlike the tea shrub as it could well be. And an article as closely resembling *black* tea could have been just as easily made out of these leaves."

He says[2] "both kinds of tea are gathered from the bushes in the same way, and are made from the same description of leaves, namely, those which are young and lately formed.

Green tea.—When the leaves are brought in from the plantations they are spread out thinly on flat bamboo trays, in order to dry off any superfluous mixture. They remain for a very short time exposed in this manner, generally from one to two hours; this however depends much upon the state of the weather." After rolling, etc., "in about an hour, or an hour and a half, the leaves are well dried and their colour has become fixed; that is, there is no longer any danger of their becoming black. They are of a dullish green colour, but become brighter afterwards.[3] The difference as to *green* tea is, first, that the leaves are roasted almost immediately after they are gathered; and second, that they are dried off quickly after the rolling."

Black Tea.—When the leaves are brought in from the plantations they are spread out upon large bamboo mats or trays, *and are allowed to lie in this state for a considerable time.* If they are brought in at night they lie until next morning." He adds[4]—"It will be remarked, therefore, with reference to the leaves

[1] P. 274. My *Italics.*
[2] P. 276.
[3] He adds, "I am now alluding to teas which are coloured artificially."
[4] P. 281. My *Italics.*

which are to be converted into *black* tea—1st. that they are allowed to lie for some time spread out in the factory after being gathered and before they are roasted; 2d. that they are tossed about until they become *soft* and *flaccid*, and then left in heaps, and that this also is done before they are roasted; 3rd. that after being roasted for a few minutes and rolled, they are exposed for some hours to the *air* in a soft and moist state; and 4th. that they are at last *dried slowly* over charcoal fires. The difference in the manufacture of *black* and *green* teas are therefore most marked, and I think fully account for the difference in colour, as well as for the effect produced on some constitutions by *green* tea, such as *nervous irritability, sleeplessness*, etc. This is shown by some observations made by Mr. *Warrington* of Apothecaries' Hall, in his paper which I have already quoted." This gentleman had found that "the green teas, when wetted and re-dried, with exposure to the air, were nearly as dark in colour as the ordinary black teas. From these observations, therefore, I was induced to believe that the peculiar characters and chemical differences which distinguish *black* from *green* were to be attributed to a species of heating or fermentation, accompanied with oxidation by exposure, and not to its being submitted to a higher temperature in the process of drying, as had been generally concluded. My opinion was partly confirmed by ascertaining from parties conversant with the Chinese manufacture, that the leaves for the *black* teas were always allowed to remain exposed to the *air* in a mass for some time before they were roasted."[1] Mr. *Fortune* is going again to China. After the above statement *black* tea ought to be the order of the day. It is a bad plan to mix two ingredients, one of which is decidedly not good.

With regard to China it must be observed that the rebellion of the last two years has produced a singular result. The Emperor of China is not able to put down the rebellion. The Emperor of Russia offers his aid. Kaikhta is the mart of Russian and Chinese commerce. It stands on a small river, near its conflux with Selenga, 75 miles S.S.W. from Selenginsk, long. 107° 10′, E. lat., 50° 30′ N. Now His Imperial Majesty of Russia is, it appears, inclined to assist his brother of China—"*A friend in need is a friend indeed!*"

[1] He says, of the plants brought to the Apothecaries' Hall:—"They are brought to us by the growers or collectors from the country tied up in bundles, and when they arrive fresh and cool, they dry of a good *bright green* colour. But if delayed in their transit, they become heated, from a spontaneous fermentation, etc. When such plants are dried, the whole of the *green colour* is found to have been destroyed, and a *red-brown*, and sometimes a *blackish-brown result* is obtained."

We are informed[1] that a Letter from St. Petersburgh, of the 25th of April (1853), mentioned in the *Patrie*, of Paris, states that "there is much talk in the best circles of a secret mission of a Russian envoy sent to *China* overland, and who, it is said, has already arrived at *Kiahka*,[2] a town belonging jointly to the two Governments. It is confidently reported that the object of his mission is to offer to the Sovereign of the Celestial Empire the aid of Russia for the purpose of quelling the insurrection in his dominions."

It is said that the Emperor of China has solicited the aid of the Government of India in the shape of the aid of forty British Officers to discipline and command his troops, to aid in putting down the rebellion. This aid, it is to be hoped, will be forthwith granted. We could send twenty from Bengal, twelve from Madras, and eight Officers from the Bombay Officers.[3] We could select many Officers from the troops which went to China in the years 1840-42. The Chinese understand our Officers. Indeed, why not send some of the Officers to China who have even retired from the Company's armies since the conclusion of the late war in China.[4]

This affords an excellent opportunity for the British Government to give His Celestial Majesty all the aid he requires; and it would lead to a good settlement of the "*tea-trade*," and allow of European and Native Superintendents of Tea, to be stationed at the head quarters of the districts where the best teas are to be had, to select the teas, and to see that there shall be no *adulteration* of the article, or any *dyeing colours* used. At present I do not see how we can be sure of the *quality* of the tea sold to us. The *Hong* merchants at times played tricks, and the *Hong* were in debt to the Company as far back as 1783. There should be warehouses established at Canton, and at the places indicated. The East India Company used to have "*Tea-tasters*." Where you consume 54,000,000lbs. yearly, and the quantity required is daily increasing, it is a great object to *know* that you have the *first chop tea*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget[5] said—"I won't discuss the reasons that exist for reducing the tea duties. It

[1] The Daily News, 9th May, 1853.

[2] Kiakhta, according to Dr. Butler's Atlas of Modern Geography.

[3] About the end of 1834, Col. *Pasmore* (Infantry), and Majors D'Arcy Todd (Artillery), and John Laughton (Engineers), were sent to Persia from the Bengal Army to drill, etc., the Persian troops.

[4] Colonel A. S. H. *Mountain*, C. B., Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces in India, was wounded in China. Col. P. *Montgomeri*, C.B. and A. D. C. to the Queen, Madras Artillery, distinguished himself in the China War. Also Major H. Moore, C.B., Bengal Army, retired.

[5] 18th April, 1853, in the House of Commons, as to the change in the duty on tea.

would be idle to do so, for they are already settled in public opinion." (*Hear, hear.*) After alluding to the plan of the late Ministry he said:—"What we propose is this—to take the first step that was taken by the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. *Disraeli*) last year, and reduce the duty at once from 2s. 2¼d. to 1s. 10d. (*Hear.*) We have carefully considered the state and prospects of the supplies of tea. The condition of the Chinese Empire at this moment is certainly not favourable to such extended supplies as we could wish. We cannot entertain very sanguine expectations that any large addition will be made in twelve months to the quantity available for the wants of this market; but, in the end, we hope and believe, if there be not a chronic state of revolution in China, that, so far as the production of tea is concerned, a short time, a couple of years or so, would be sufficient to put us in possession of a large addition to our supply." (*Hear, hear.*) "We shall take the duty from the date when the House, if it coincides with us in opinion, shall adopt the resolutions. To the 5th of April, 1854, it will be 1s. 10d.; to the 5th of April, 1854-55, it will be 1s. 6d.; to April, 1855-56, 1s. 3d.; and from April, 1856, it will be 1s. (*Cheers*). The whole time occupied in effecting the descent from 2s. 2¼d. to 1s. would be less than three years. We hope, with favourable circumstances, thus to bring in the supply necessary to meet increased demand, but he could not venture to recommend to the House the adoption of any shorter period for effecting the change. (*Hear, hear.*) The House must not suppose that this is a change which, if we take a [illegible]ar dispassionate view of it, can be effected without a heavy l[illegible] the revenue in the first instance." (*Hear, hear*).

He calculated the difference between 2s. 2¼d. and 1s. on the amount of tea consumed during the last year would amount to £3,000,000. By Mr. *Gladstone's* plan the loss

For the 1st year will be	£366,000
,, 2nd year	510,000
,, 3rd year.....	454,000
,, 4th year.....	604,000
Total loss in those years in the Customs' Revenue.....	£1,934,000

"But at the same time the loss, we trust, will undergo a rapid and steady diminution." (*Hear, hear*).

CHAPTER XXVI.

COFFEE.

M'Culloch says[1]—"The coffee plant is a native of that part of Arabia called *Yemen*, but it is now extensively cultivated in the southern extremity of India, in Java, the West Indies, Brazil, etc." The taste for coffee decides the question as to consumption.[2] Mr. *James M'Queen* said—"Not so much from the diminution of *duty*, or the diminution of *price*, as from a change of *taste* in the public; they did not know how to use coffee in this country till very lately, and they hardly know it yet. I do not think it is the price that makes the difference; I think, if I am not mistaken, that coffee is higher now than it was before the duty was reduced. *Jamaica* coffee is very high indeed."

The duty on coffee[3] used to be:—

	W. India, per lb.	E. India, per lb.
1789 to 1794.....	10d.	2s. 0d.
1795—1796.....	1s. 5d.	2s. 6d.
1797—1798.....	1s. 5d.	3s. 7d.
1799—1802.....	1s. 5d.	2s. 7d.
1803—1807.....	1s. 7d.	2s. 0d.
1808—1813.....	7d.	10d.
1814—1818.....	7$\frac{3}{4}$d.	11$\frac{1}{2}$d.
1819—1824.....	1s. 0d.	1s. 6d.
1825—1835.....	6d.	9d.

In 1835 the duty on coffee[4] of the British possessions in India, was equalized to the West India duty of sixpence per pound, and since 1835, East India coffee cleared for home consumption has largely increased—from 8,000,000 to 26,000,000lbs.; and to three times that quantity.

[1] Commercial Dictionary (1844), p. 295.
[2] Book (Produce), 1840, p. 185.
[3] Book (Produce), 1840, p. 235.
[4] Book (Produce), p. 25.

In 1808 to 1818 the consumption of coffee in Great Britain averaged.. 8,000,000lbs.
Increase of duty 1819-20 ..... 1,000,000 ,,
Reduced in 1824, and it rose from 8,000,000 to ....12,000,000 ,,
In 1835 to .....28,000,000 ,, [1]
The exports from *Hayti*,[2] since its freedom in 1825, were .....36,000,000 ,,
In 1835 .....48,000,000 ,,
In 1840 .....60,000,000 ,,

FROM THE WEST INDIES.[3]

In 1835 .....14,617,046 ,,
1836 .....18,777,912 ,,
1837 .....15,184,413 ,,
1838 .....17,629,286 ,,

IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

In 1820 .....48,841,626lbs.
1835 .....28,398,493 ,,
1842 .....41,444,414 ,, [4]

The West Indies in 1837 only exported to England 15,575,888lbs.

Mr. *R. M. Martin* said—"The West Indies do not furnish half the quantity consumed in the United Kingdom." The consumption was in 1852 about 82,000,000lbs.,[5] not three pounds per head per annum, and Ceylon can supply 35,000 tons, or 78,400,000lbs.

Ceylon.[6]—"Within the last ten years £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 British capital embarked in coffee plantations in Ceylon." In 1838, the production of Ceylon was 2,500 tons (5,600,000 lbs.). In 1847, 15,285 tons (34,238,000 lbs.); many speculations failed in consequence of the selection of bad positions.[7]

Madras promises to be a great coffee producing country. It

[1] The reduction of the duty on wine, the produce of the Cape of Good Hope (many years ago), did not cause a greater consumption.
[2] Book (Produce), 1840, p. 265.
[3] Book (Produce), 1840, p. 591.
[4] The Coffee Trade of the world in 1839, was, 359,098,229lbs. (Book 1840, p. 598).
[5] 36,608 tons.
[6] Eighth Report, 1848 (Coffee), Appendix No. 8, p. 27, paragraph 175.
[7] Some of the civil servants had coffee estates, they were *compelled* to sell them at a great loss. If they were not *allowed* to hold them, why was not time given to sell without any material loss?

appears[1] that the *Shevroy* hills,[2] in the *Salem* district, consist of a series of elevated ridges, upon which *tea*,[3] *coffee*, and a variety of valuable products can be raised with much facility. The land is assessed, on an average, at one, or at most, two anas the acre. There are no roads except those made by the people themselves. About 2,500 acres of ground have been taken up for the cultivation of *coffee*, four-fifths of which are now covered with trees in full bearing. There are thirty planters, Europeans and East Indians, on the hills, and about a dozen good houses have been erected for the convenience of the more wealthy of their number, and that of the civilians stationed at *Salem*. The climate is very delightful. The apparent profits of a well-cultivated estate on the *Shevroy* hills are great; perhaps they reach thirty per cent. over the income of a coffee plantation of equal extent in *Ceylon*.[4] The cost of cultivating lands is about five rupees eight anas (about 11s.) per acre monthly, out of which at least four rupees (8s.) are paid for labour. On the whole extent of the area taken up, 8,000 rupees (£800) a month is laid out in wages. An acre of land produces about 8 cwt. of coffee,[5] which at 45s., the average price of the *Shevroy* article, gives a gross annual value of £36,000, and 800 tons of shipping required to convey it home, at an ordinary freight of £3 10s. Up to the close of 1850, many new tracts of jungle land had been taken up and cleared. The rule of Government is to put the land up at an upset price of eight rupees (16s.) an acre. There are not less than 20,000 acres still available for planting.[6]

Governor *Higginson*[7] says, "*Jamaica* at one time reached 35,000,000 lbs.; whereas in 1846 there were only 7,000,000 lbs. When the crop reached 35,000,000 lbs., the price had risen to £5 and £6 a cwt.;[8] and at the conclusion of the war, it ranged from 60s. to 160s. a cwt. The average of the five years ending with 1833, the last five years of slavery, was 17,645,602 lbs."

Java.[9]—"It is expected that 136,000,000 lbs. of coffee a year (60,714 tons) will be produced. The people engaged in it in 1841 were 453,000 families (2,000,000 people)." The entire

[1] Madras Athenæum (Allen's India Mail, 2nd April, 1852, p. 194).

[2] Near Coimbatore, Latitude 10° 55′ N. Longitude 77° 6′ E.

[3] Doubtful if *tea* can ever thrive at the elevation of those hills—about 4,500 feet above the level of the sea are required. See *Fortune's* book.

[4] Some five or six of the first small planters failed. In India, as observed by Mr. *A. Ramsay*, (Chapter on Indigo) many rush into a new market.

[5] On 2,500 acres, 1,000 tons (2,240,000 lbs.).

[6] The 22,500 acres × 8 = 180,000 cwt. (20,160,000 lbs.) ÷ 20 = 9,000 tons.

[7] Formerly in Bengal Native Infantry, and Aid-de-camp to Lord W. Bentinck. Book 1848 (8th Report, p. 85).

[8] About 1s. a lb.

[9] 1848 (8th Report) p. 165.

export of coffee from Arabia[1] is perhaps not more than 5,000 or 6,000 tons. The consumption of coffee is said to be increasing in America.[2] In France, Germany, and on the continent it is greatly increasing.[3] The Turks drink coffee to a great extent. Those who have been on a pilgrimage to *Mecca* or to *Medina*, strictly speaking, must neither drink *Coffee* nor smoke *Tobacco*.

The consumption of coffee in England. *M'Culloch*[3] says, "A public Coffee-house was opened for the first time in London, in 1652. Mr. *Christian* was asked,[4] Question 14,469, "Are you aware that in this metropolis (London) alone, about 1,800 to 2,000 Coffee-houses are established exclusively for the sale of coffee, in small quantities to the working classes at low prices?" *Answer*. "I have no means of knowing." If we include the quantity of so called coffee sold in the streets, *some* of which will be coffee, we shall find the amount enormous. Much is also consumed by the middling and upper classes.[5]

Viscount *Torrington*, late Governor of Ceylon, presented a petition to the House of Lords[6] from the Ceylon coffee planters, against the mixture of *chicory*[7] with coffee. It stated that the admixture of *chicory* was equal to 12,000 tons. The Earl of *Derby* said 10,000 tons were consumed in this country, of which 9,000 used in coffee, reduced by kiln-drying, roasting, and grinding, to 1520 tons. The petition stated that 5,400,000 lbs., or 2410 tons of articles were mixed with the coffee. That if pure coffee were used in the place of the adulteration, the duty on coffee would gain £60,000. Lord *Derby* said, that from the 5th April, 1851, to 5th April, 1852, a very large increase of coffee had taken place; no doubt caused by the diminution of the duty from 6 to 3 pence on foreign, and from 4 to 3 pence on colonial coffee. The order of council of 6th August, 1840, was repealed soon after the above speech. Let those who like to mix the two, buy the articles separately.[8] The mixture is said to be very

[1] *M'Culloch*, p. 299.

[2] *M'Culloch* (1843) says, 45,000 tons were consumed. He gives 148,500 tons for Europe, including Turkey in Europe.

[3] Page 295.

[4] 1848, (6th Report) p. 41. Coffee-houses in London as early as 1650.

[5] To make good coffee, take good Mocha or Ceylon coffee, roast it, early in the morning before breakfast, and pound it, while hot, in a *wooden* mortar. Put in two, three, or four waters, as the strength may be required. It should always be roasted just before it is wanted for use.

[6] Morning Herald, 28th April, 1852.

[7] Chickoree, two-thirds beans, roasted corn, of the adulteration. By an order in Council (1840) its mixture with coffee was allowed. Now they are to be sold (if *mixed*) labelled as *such*.

[8] *Succory*, commonly called *Chicory* (or wild *Endive*), or the common *Endive*, supposed to have been introduced from India, where it is well known by its name of *Kasnee*. *Dandelion* (dent de lion) resembles succory, but does not produce it. (See Penny Cyclopædia.) So chicory is *not* made from the root of Dandelion (or *Taraxicum*) of Botanists.

innocent—the deception was in selling, as coffee, an article, half of which was composed of chicory, a cheaper ingredient. Chicory is said to possess some medicinal qualities of a favourable nature—many preferred the mixture, but did not like the price charged for what was not unadulterated coffee. *Beans* sometimes take the place of *Coffee*—some like "*Café au lait*," in which milk predominates over the coffee; but better for a *late* than an *early* breakfast—after drinking *wine*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

INDIGO.[1]

INDIGO was formerly cultivated in Guatamala (Mexico, New Spain), which exported about 1,200,000 lbs. per annum. *Pliny*[2] states "that it was brought from India." It is said to be indigenous in India,[3] and to have been used from the earliest ages. "But until British skill and capital were applied to its production, the *quality* of that produced in India appears to have been very inferior[4] to the indigo of other countries. The first mention of indigo occurs in English statutes in 1581. Its cultivation was begun in Carolina in 1747. It was from this source that Europeans in India cultivated the indigo now used. In the year 1798, a patent was taken out for the formation of indigo cakes.[5]

The importation of indigo into the United Kingdom from the East Indies, and from the rest of the world.[6]

	From the East Indies.		From other places.
1785	154,921	lbs.	1,693,509
1786	253,345	,,	1,978,290
1787	363,046	,,	1,877,830
1788	622,691	,,	2,096,611
1789	371,469	,,	1,966,687

During the five years ending 1830 it was :—

1826	7,652,946	lbs.	8,085,751
1827	5,384,998	,,	6,067,747
1828	9,660,152	,,	9,913,010
1829	5,965,128	,,	6,748,281
1830	7,920,172	,,	8,216,440

[1] Book 1839, (Produce) p. 8. Sanscrit, *Nili*, Arabic, *Neel*, Malay, *Taroom*. The English, and French, and Germans, call it *Indigo*. Pliny calls it *Indicum*.

[2] M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce (1844).

[3] Book 1832, Report, p. 349.

[4] As made by the Natives in Sindh and elsewhere, in Oudh, etc.

[5] By R. C. Birch, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, and his father.

[6] Book 1832, General Appendix, p. 378, (from 1780 to 1784 the Custom House accounts were burnt).

In the former period[1] no indigo was imported from any foreign possession in India; during the latter the following quantities were imported from such possessions:—

1826.....26,709
1827.....21,520
1828.....24,669
1829.....17,263
1830.....16,685

In 1818 they made 120,000 *factory* maunds of indigo,[2] and it was found that the consumption in England, etc., and on the continent of Europe was only about 80,000 maunds.[3] It was resolved[4] to give up one-third of the worse factories, or *blocks* as they are often called. This caused a great loss to several individuals. One gentleman who had run up an account with his *agents* of 125,000 rupees was informed as early as 1812 that *they* proposed he should give up his factories, (losing concerns,) and they would write him down 80,000 rupees.[5]

Bengal[6] on an average gives 9,000,000, (109,756 maunds of indigo). Java, 2,000,000 lbs. Some is exported from Madras, and some from the Philippines.

From the evidence of the *Hon. Andrew Ramsay*[7] it appears that he and his partners found it "profitable when indigo was only half the price it now is; and I believe has been a very losing speculation, since the price of indigo increased." Owing to "the great competition among the mercantile people in India,"[8] "the expense of everything connected with indigo has increased."[9] "Unfavourable seasons."[10] "For the last five or six years there has not been one good crop of indigo."[11] "All the alluvial lands on the borders of the Ganges are best for indigo.

[1] That is before 1785, as far as the accounts show.

[2] 8,640,000 lbs. at 72 lbs. the maund.

[3] 5,760,000 lbs.

[4] Statement in the Calcutta Journal.

[5] He wrote, "Gentlemen, you may as well write me down 80 lakhs rupees, for unless you make advances, I can pay neither one or the other."

[6] Report (Cotton, etc.), p. 362.

[7] Bengal Civil Service, Commercial Resident, (Book 1830, Report of the Lords, 8th July, p. 232).

[8] That is, the high price made more embark in the "*Indigo Line*," and they made too much of indigo, and therefore lost, as *all* could not sell.

[9] Elephants were kept up for the estates in Tirhoot. The indigo planter drank his claret, and lived *en prince*. If he had many factories his assistants did the same; they also had elephants, and kept open house. I remember their style in 1812.

[10] Too much made—the Calcutta market was glutted.

[11] Usually one bad season out of three, or too little rain. White ants eat *sugar* cane; but not indigo.

In the lower provinces it is only an *annual* plant; in the upper provinces of India it is a *triennial* plant."

"When the overflow of the Ganges takes place, a sediment is deposited which manures the land; and if no inundation takes place, the next season is almost a certain failure. It has been the case for several years."

"*The triennial*[1] *indigo.*—It was till lately of a different quality; they found out within these few years that by *boiling* they can make it nearly as good as the Bengal[2] indigo; but I believe it has never been considered quite so good." Then the greater distance and long boat voyage,[3] its greater cost, and the result is that the lower country (Bengal) gets the first market. In the lower provinces the planter can take a run down to Calcutta[4] and sell his own indigo. The up-country planter usually consigns it to his agents in Calcutta. Where a planter had to borrow money at ten per cent., and insure his life, a profit often of twenty per cent. would be no gain. Let us see the position of some of the places where indigo is grown:—

Batavia.....	6° 15′ S. Lat.	Longitude	106° 50′ E.
Caraccas	10° 28′ N. ,,	,,	66° 30′ W.
Luconia, Philippine Islands..	12° 0′ N. ,,	,,	123° 0′ E.
Tinnevelly, (Madras)	8° & 10° N.		
Manilla	14° 45′ N. ,,	,,	121° 0′ E.
Guatemala	15° 0′ N. ,,	,,	89° 30′ W.
Bengal.....	20° to 30° N.		

Mr. *T. Bracker*[5] was asked, Question 1079, "Is not the Bengal indigo infinitely cheaper than South American indigo?" *Answer.* "Undoubtedly at the present price Bengal indigo will drive all others out of the market." *M'Culloch* says,[6] "The annual exports of Asiatic indigo are as follow:—

Bengal	9,000,000 lbs.
Madras.....	1,334,000 ,,
Manilla	250,000 ,,
Batavia[7]	950,000 ,,
Total	11,534,000 lbs.

[1] Upper Provinces.
[2] Bengal Proper.
[3] Several hundred miles.
[4] I know a planter who lived at Colgong about forty years ago (Latitude 25° 14′ N. Longitude 87° 10′ E., 102 miles N.W. from Moorshedabad), about 200 miles from Calcutta, about 300 miles by water: who made £10,000 in seven years.
[5] Book 1832, p. 156.
[6] Page 699, Edition of 1844.
[7] Rapidly increasing.

That the indigo of Madras is superior to that of Manilla, and is about equal to ordinary Bengal indigo. The indigo of Java (Batavia) is superior to these. A small quantity comes from the British West Indies.

Indigo was formerly bought by the East India Company. Mr. *T. Bracker* said[1] that they (the East India Company) affected the market by their purchases. They bought in 1821-22, 3,553 maunds at 234 rupees. In 1830-31, 29,582 maunds at 193 rupees.[2] This gave 8s. 3d., and in the other case 5s. 1½d. per pound, at 2s. 2d. the sicca rupee.[3] It seems clear that the price was falling; and in 1847, it fell to 80 Company's rupees, or £8 per maund.[4]

The French did use *Woad* (*Isatis-tinctoria*) as a substitute, but the consumption in France of *Indigo* is, it is said, rapidly increasing. The East India Company bought Indigo as a remittance, and of course were, at times, early in the market.[5] In the year 1829-30 the whole produce in India was 130,000 maunds, and only 80,000 maunds came to England. The average production in ten years, from 1812 to 1821, was 24,020 chests. In 1822 to 1831, 33,170 chests. Lands for Indigo were held in the names of Natives for Europeans,[6] and large sums were lost by the failure of ryots to perform their contracts. The loss was estimated at 25 per cent., two-thirds of the Indigo was purchased on contract from the Natives, advances of money being made.[7] The value of the Indigo, two and a-half to three crores of rupees (£2,500,000 to £3,000,000), "of which probably two crores were expended in this country (*India*) for rent, stock, wages, interest on capital, etc., and perhaps three-fourths of the balance remitted to *England*." "Competition[8] among planters has increased the cost of production from 80 to 100 per cent., so as greatly to reduce the superiority which this country has long possessed over other countries from which Europe is supplied with Indigo; namely, *Manilla, Java,*[9] *Guatemala,* and the *West Indies*." Euro-

[1] 1832, Book, Appendix, p. 167.

[2] Book, 1832, Appendix, p. 165. Sir G. de H. Larpent, 29th March, 1832.

[3] The exchange governs both cases, though it was high.

[4] Mr. *H. St. George Tucker*, said (1st Report, 1848). *Answer* to Question 1,251 – "*Indigo* is our first article (for a *remittance*), and next to that, sugar."

[5] The sales were made Quarterly.

[6] Memorials of all the Calcutta Agents (28th January, 1829), just before the great failures began.

[7] By the said Agents, Messrs. Palmer and Co., Alexander and Co., Mackintosh and Co., Calvin and Co., Cruttenden an dCo., Fergusson and Co., and eight others.

[8] See *ante*, the statement of the Hon. Mr. Ramsay. The above is the language of the Memorial of the Merchants of Calcutta.

[9] It was said in 1852, that the Dutch were reducing the manufacture of Indigo, finding that it did not pay. (1st Report, 1848, p. 179).

peans can now hold lands. Some considerable failures have settled down the manufacture of Indigo to more moderate dimensions. Indigo usually arrives in Calcutta in October, when the sales take place. The transport by steamers must offer a more secure conveyance to Calcutta. The *Guseratee* Indigo is said not to be of good quality.[1] As to *Madras* Indigo[2]—"Within the last twenty years a very considerable growth of Indigo has been introduced; little or none before. I think it is made entirely by British settlers." Mr. *Fleming*, Bengal C.S., thought[3] the cultivation of Indigo had enriched the inhabitants of *Tirhoot*, and part of *Sarun*. Bad Indigo is made in Sindh. Its place will be supplied by Bengal Indigo, most probably.

The fluctuation in the quantity of the drug, and the prices, will show the state of the trade, and that the price often falls with increase of production.[4]

INDIGO STOCK, LONDON (END OF THE YEAR.)

	Chests.	Average Prices.
1822.....	8,200	
1823..... ..	13,100	£ 90
1824.....	12,200	100
1825....	16,400.	140
1826.....	22,300	110
1827.....	22,800	80
1828.....	31,100	70
1829.....	31,200	55
1830.....	37,600	45
1831.....	35,700	

Then, it is said,[5] *Answer* to Question 1976, "When the Company went out of the market, and declined purchasing as heretofore, which they did in the year 1830, the depression in price was so great as to be ruinous to many individuals."

"The cultivation is carried on from *Dacca* to Delhi;[6] the average quantity of exportation[7] is 9,000,000 lbs. (125,000 maunds); the amount paid by British born subjects, for rent and

[1] Book, 1832, Appendix, p. 287, *par.* 92.
[2] Mr. D. Hill, Madras C. S. Book, 1832, Appendix, p. 110.
[3] Book, 1838-1843, p. 387.
[4] As in the case of *opium*. When the Dutch had Ceylon (they lost it in 1795), they destroyed a portion of their *spices* to keep up the old monopoly prices!
[5] 1832, Trade, etc., vol. 3, Appendix, No. 2. Reports of the House of Commons.
[6] Between the 23° and 24°, and 28° and 31° of North latitude.
[7] About four years ago, the French sent Agents from Lyons to Calcutta to buy Indigo.

labour, is stated to be £1,680,000; on its arrival at Calcutta, it is valued at £2,403,000;[1] and it is said to realize in England, £3,600,000.[2] The annual value of the Indigó exported is from £2,000,000 to £3,000,000; but it varies very much. It is exported chiefly to England; and some to America; some to France,[3] where the consumption has increased of late years; and a small quantity is sent to the Persian Gulf. There are from 300 to 400 factories in the Bengal provinces; chiefly in *Jessore*,[4] *Kishnagur*,[5] and *Tirhoot*.[6] There is no Indigo exported from Bombay, though the soil and climate are said to be suited for it. There is very little cultivated at *Coimbetore*.[7] "The culture of Indigo has increased the value of land very greatly;[8] it has raised the price of labour, and therefore improved the condition of the people, as is seen by their being better housed and clad. In *Tirhoot*, the land rose from 2s. 8d. and 3s. 3d. per acre, to 4s. 7½d. and 7s. 6d. There has been a rise of fifty per cent. in the price of labour, and rents have risen in Tirhoot fourfold,[9] and generally they have been doubled. The introduction of Indigo has given great facility to Government for the collection of the revenue. The low price of indigo in Europe will diminish the quantity produced."

"The planters," (the Report adds) "borrowed their capital in Calcutta at 10 or 10½ per cent., on a mortgage of the property.[10] Natives in Calcutta lend and borrow at 12 per cent.; in the provinces out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, at 24 to 30 per cent.[11] The agents charged to the planters 2½ per cent. commission upon advances, and 2 per cent. upon sales. At least 20,000 chests are actually grown and manufactured by Natives alone; exclusive of what is produced in *Oude*.[12] The Indigo planters have a sort of

[1] About 43 per cent. profit.

[2] This would be a profit of nearly 50 per cent. after deducting freight, etc.

[3] Lyons sends Agents to Calcutta to buy it.

[4] Between 22° and 24° of North latitude.

[5] Lat. 23° 26′ N., Long. 88° 35′ E., 62 miles N. by E. from Calcutta.

[6] In between 25° and 27° of North latitude.

[7] Between the 10th and 12th degrees of North latitude.

[8] Memorial to the Governor-General in Council, 28th January, 1829. The numbers of the beegahs for this crop in Bengal is from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000.

[9] The profit goes to the Zemindars.

[10] The Block, as it is called.

[11] The legal interest in India is 12 per cent. as between Europeans; but an Eurasion or Native may lend at any rate of interest. In the case of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad, they took 18 per cent. per annum from the Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Lord *Hastings* obtained the opinion of the twelve Judges, "that the Act did not apply to loans made to the subjects of Native independent princes by British subjects domiciled and residing within their dominions." (*Wilson's* History of India, vol. ix. p. 381).

[12] Between the 26th and 28th degrees of north lat.

influence which property gives everywhere. The Indigo planters are a very respectable class, and men of extremely good information.[1] As a body they do not ill-use the Natives, though there have been individuals among them who have committed violence.[2] There are now men of better education in that line than there used to be."[3] "None of them are now in the Commission of the Peace; but it is desirable that they should be entrusted with that office."

In 1841, there were 7,894,497 lbs. of Indigo imported into Great Britain, of which 7,456,617 lbs. were from India, 104,190 lbs. from the British West Indies, 178,727 lbs., from Guatemala, 68,304 lbs., from Colombia, etc., so that India furnished 94½ per cent. of the whole importation. Only 2,780,583 lbs. were retained for home consumption.

[1] It has been proposed to make some of them Justices of the Peace.
[2] This would apply to the case of sugar factories, etc.
[3] Many of these gentlemen were of great use during the Nepal War of 1814-16, to the Government, by aiding the troops in supplies, etc.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

COTTON.

THE Committee on Cotton[1] said,—"That nothing further is required than the practical enforcement throughout India of the principles laid down in the following Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, of the 12th April, 1837." The Court said,—"European enterprize and European capital are very ready to secure the advantages which any change in State policy, commercial or financial, may seem to hold out; and this it is not our desire to check. At the same time it behoves us to be something more than quiescent with regard to our Native subjects, who, having the skill and industry, may want the enterprise and capital of the Europeans, and occasionally to lead and assist them in the improvement." "No better means of securing this good object can be pointed out, than the adoption of such a mode of assessment as shall leave the cultivator in possession of an ample and encouraging remuneration for the exercise of his industry, in the growth of articles adapted to the demands of the home market. The policy of long leases[2] and moderate assessment, is therefore not only recommended by general principles and general experience, but is enforced by the peculiar circumstances of the times." The Court expressed their satisfaction at the settlement of part of *Bombay*, on the principle "which was also pursued under the Agra Presidency, of confirming the rates[3] fixed for a period of 30 years, they understand that it is proposed to extend the same measure to the whole of the Bombay Presidency as rapidly as the necessary agency can be procured."

[1] Report, 1848, 17th July, p. 7, par. 23,24. See also Appendix G.
[2] In the North-West Provinces of 30 years.
[3] In the Punjab, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., reduced the land rent in many cases.

It has been asserted, that the only way to meet the American cotton in the market is, to reduce the tax on *land* for growing cotton, so as to render the tax much below the usual tax on grain or other lands. In the first place, one of the great difficulties is the difficulty of fully carrying out such a proposition all at once. The case of lands for growing opium or salt, where the permanent settlement of 1793 exists, the Zemindars having satisfied the Government demand, may make those to whom they sub-let, pay 20 or 25 per cent. more than they themselves pay to Government: secondly, the merchants who want cotton, should make advances to the cultivators, and make it worth their while to cultivate it.

The plan adopted by the East India Company used to be to make advances[1] to the cotton growers. But as growing cotton by the Company might be very well as merchants *trading* to the East Indies, it would not do in their capacity of Sovereigns, though the Manchester Association accuse the Company of *trading*, by carrying on the monopoly of opium. The Company were not to trade with England. They lost the China trade in 1833, but as they were not deprived of the said monopoly of opium, and do not sell it for the English market, they do not commit a breach of the Charter Act. Monopolies are, *per se*, bad. The *opium* and *salt* cases are exceptions to the rules of commerce; or exist, as *Blackstone* says, from *necessity*.[2] Why do not the merchants of Manchester and Liverpool form a company or companies, and send out their agents to make advances for the growth of cotton. The East India Company did send out American planters, and Mr. Surgeon *Wight*[3] of Madras, superintended the *Model* Cotton Farm at Coimbatore. The Manchester people must work out their own plan; but they will never get 10 per cent. of the revenue for any such purpose. Let them send out surveyors, and point out where they require roads to be made. Native superintendents and European supervision are requisite. Lands, too, must be selected; *Berar* is said by Mr. *Mercer* to be excellent.

The Report (*par.* 29) expresses the satisfaction of the Committee of the notification of the abolition of the *export* duty on cotton on the 31st December, 1847, by the Court of Directors.[4] The Committee (*par.* 32) say that, "Produce often transported hundreds of miles on the backs of bullocks, caused great damage, particularly to cotton, from exposure to wet, and from accidents and delay," etc. Some cotton loads are put into carts, and double the number on the backs of bullocks. In Bengal the

[1] In December and January, yearly, an Agent for Bundelkund lived at Calpee.

[2] *De necessitate rei.*

[3] Has retired from the Service on his Pension.

[4] It was recommended by the Bombay Government.

Bundelkund cotton was put on board of boats, and sent down the river Ganges about seven hundred of miles.

The Committee[1] in 1847 (21st May), recommended that the American cultivators to be sent (*par.* 5) should be stationed in the North West Provinces (right bank of the Jumna), "the cotton cultivation in that part of the country being so superior to the Dooab[2] cotton, that the latter is extensively imported into Bundelkund, for the fraudulent purpose of being mixed with the *Banda* and *Jalaon*[3] cotton." The cotton of Bundelkund is said not to be good, and only half the former quantity is produced.

The Committee selected (*par.* 6) the stations of *Agra*, Banda, *Jubbulpoor*, in the Sagor and Nerbuddha territories. *Agra* and *Bundelkund* are situated, they remarked, close to the river Jumna, and from Jubbulpoor to Mirzapoor, on the banks of the Ganges, the great cotton mart of the North-West Provinces, a bridged and metalled road of 239 miles in length, equal to any in England, has been, they observe, made by the Government; and at all the stations the means of transport, *viz.* to the river by hackeries,[4] camels,[5] and bullocks; and on the river, boats[6] of every description abound. The bales were to be of 300 pounds weight each. The river Ganges has numerous sand-banks and channels. The cotton boats used to navigate the Ganges in the cold or dry season, and hence they would be stopped by many sand-banks. There should be channels buoyed off, and the buoys removed at the dry season, as the channels may change. The Ganges must always be one of the high roads for heavy goods, independent of any railway—certainly for several years to come. Mr. *Simins*, the Government Consulting Civil Engineer, recommended shields of an expensive nature to defend the banks of the river from the inroads made by the river, but they were too costly.

Bundelkund[7] has fallen off from 6,000,000 to 1,000,000 lbs. Mr. *Scott Waring*[8] "expected that under his settlement the cultivator of cotton, after paying his assessment of one rupee ten anas (3s. 3d. per beegah), would realize a net profit of two rupees eight anas (5s.)"

The most important part of India for cotton is *Berar*. *Berar* (between 19° and 22° north lat.) Mr. *Mercer*, an American cotton

[1] Book, Cotton, 19th Feb. 1848, p. 13.
[2] Dooab, the country between the Ganges and Jumna rivers.
[3] Both places are in Bundelkund.
[4] Carts drawn by bullocks.
[5] Camels are not used in Bengal, or Behar, but bullocks and carts. At Mhow, camels cannot travel in the rainy season.
[6] The cotton boats (*Woolaks*) are too large, and piled up 12 to 15 feet with bales of cotton above the gunnel of the boat.
[7] 1848, Cotton Report, 17th July, p. 267.
[8] Ditto, p. 311.

planter sent out by the East India Company to India, says[1]:—"The cotton of *Berar* he found to be of so excellent a quality that it needed only a little better cleaning to be equal to good *Mobile*, or *upland Georgia* cotton; and it was destitute of the harshness so common to the cottons of the North-West Provinces of India. The length of this great cotton field, measuring from north to south, is about 450 miles, and its breadth about 300 miles, so that its area is about 135,000 square miles,[2] and of this area Mr. *Chapman* reckons, that 67,500 square miles would be applicable to the growth of cotton fit for English use. If one-fourth of this area were cropped with cotton every year, and the produce per acre were equal to the average produce of *Guzerat* and *Candeish*, namely, 100 lbs. to the acre, the weight of cotton produced per annum would be upwards of 1,000 millions (1,000,000,000 lbs.) of pounds, or two and a quarter times[3] more than the total consumption of Great Britain. Indian cotton, however, of the quality at present supplied, is not suitable for more than 75 per cent. of our manufactures, and it is dangerous to trust to any *one* source of supply, whether in *America* or in *India*."

The experience of the Englishwoman in America[4] gives a statement made to her by an American Clergyman and Slaveholder. He said—"If you (English) were to cultivate as much cotton as you ought in India, you would put down slavery in the United States of America."

Dr. *Royle*[5] says, (*par.* 4)—"Cottons of the highest prices are produced over a wide expanse of territory, in different parts of the world, from 0° 34°, and in particular situations, even to 40° lat." "In British India (*par.* 5) from 8° to 31° N. lat., and including the loftiest mountains in the world, afford every diversity of soil[6] and climate. The soils in which the best cottons grow differ much in physical and chemical nature than is generally supposed. This is evident if we examine the soil of the *Sea Island* cotton, and compare it with that of the *sandy* cotton farms in Georgia; or both with the rich *alluvial* deposits of the Mississippi, or the prairie lands of South Alabama. The difference is not greater, however, than that which we observe between the granite soil of the *Coromandel* coast, and the black cotton soil

[1] See Mr. Chapman's Book, 8vo., London, 1851, p. 412.
[2] About the size of the United Kingdom!!!
[3] That is when Mr. Chapman wrote.
[4] Marianne Finch (1853), Englishwoman's experience in America.
[5] Professor and F.R.S. Book, 1840, 19th Feb. Report, Appendix, No. 22. p. 28.
[6] Lieut.-General *Brigg's* (Madras Army) Report, 1848, (17th July p. 118, see his Pamphlet)—writes of the Eastern and Western Cottons.

of Central India, or than that between the *rich alluvium* of Bengal and the sandy plains of the north-west of India."

Again,[1] "Cotton in the *Madras* Presidency is cultivated between the 8° to 17° N. lat. At *Bombay* from 16° to 24°. Excellent cotton has been grown near *Dacca* (south of Calcutta) and near *Delhi, i.e.* from 23½ to 30° N. lat."

COTTON IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN.[2]

Year.	Aggregate lbs.	From East Indies.
1781	5,198,778	
1783	9,735,663	114,133
1791	28,706,675	3,351
1793	19,040,929	729,634
1810	132,488,935	27,783,700
1813	50,966,000	491,350[3]
1818	177,282,158	86,555,000
1827	272,448,909	25,742,150
1828	227,760,642	29,670,200
1829	222,767,411	28,147,700
1840[4]		77,010,917
1841		97,368,312
1842		96,555,186
1844		88,639,608
1845		58,437,426
1846		34,270,800
1847		81,106,480
1848	bales of 300 lbs.	81,106,200[5]
1849	ditto	54,660,000[6]
1850	ditto	92,370,000[7]

From 1840 only, the East India cotton exports to Great Britain are given. Mr. F. C. Brown (planter) said,[8] "Taking the East India cotton at threepence per pound, the American cotton at more, and the sum total in seventeen years was £97,428,074 of

[1] P. 32.
[2] 1848, Report (Cotton), 17th July, p. 375.
[3] Free Trade with India.
[4] 1848, p. 48, Mr. Prideaux, Assistant-Examiner, Indian Correspondence, East India House.
[5] 270,354 bales.
[6] 182,200 bales.
[7] 307 bales.
[8] 1848, Cotton Report, 17th July, p. 243.

excess was paid by the manufacturers of England for their cotton, or £5,731,063 a year."

Mr. *J. C. Melvill* said[1] that the annual average import of cotton from India of the five years ending with 1838, was 48,329,660 (or 161,098, bales of 300 lbs.); and thinks "East India cotton is about one-eighth of all the cotton imported into Great Britain." There can be no doubt that India could supply cotton for the United Kingdom. The great difficulty is as to the *length of the staple.* We do not grow cotton near the sea. Lord *Auckland* said,[2] "The Georgia, Sea-island, the Surinam,[3] and Demerara, are all grown on the border of the *sea,* and the prime qualities only as far inland as the influence of the *sea, air,* and *tide* waters extend. In the Delta of the Sunderbunds,[4] and particularly the provinces adjacent, might perhaps be produced cottons of an equally fine texture with those above mentioned, and which in England always bears so high a price. The presumption is, the attempt would be successful, provided the black seed was procured from Demerara and Georgia."

"To Bengal[5] the Court especially pointed out that some cotton produced in the *Tenaserim* provinces was considered to be superior to any cotton that has been imported from *Bengal,* and if in perfect condition, would rank in the London market with any good *Surat* cotton, and with middling North American upland."

The Secretary of the Agricultural Society[6] concluded that "the upland Georgia and the Egytian is the seed best calculated for introduction into the interior and upland parts of India, while the Pernambuco, Peruvian, Schelles, Bourbon, and Sea-Island; may suit along the line of coast." It is to be seen how far the possession of a portion of the Burmese country, and of the command of the river *Irawadi* may open out prospects for growing cotton. Let us see the latitudes and longitudes of certain cotton growing countries :—

Pernambuco	Lat.	8° 14′ S.
	Long.	35° 0 W.
Bourbon	Lat.	20 52′ S.
	Long.	55° 20′ E.
Brazil	Lat.	22° 54′ S.
	Long.	42° 44′ W.
Coimbatore	Lat.	10° to 12° N.
	Long.	77° 6′ E.

[1] 1840, Produce Book.
[2] Minute of 14th August, 1839, *par.* 14.
[3] Long Stapled Cottons.
[4] Below Calcutta.
[5] Par. 15.
[6] Par. 22.

Tennaserim Previnces	Lat. 11° to 14° N.
	Long. 98° 50′ E.
Darwar	Lat. 13° to 19° N.
	Long. 76° 35′ E.
Berar	Lat. 19° to 22° N.
	Long. 75° to 80° E.
Arracan[1]	Lat. 20° 14′ N.
	Long. 93° 5′ E.
Surat	Lat. 21° 13′ N.
	Long. 73° 3′ E.
New Orleans	Lat. 29° 58′ N.
	Long. 90° 0′ W.
Mobile (Alabama)	Lat. 30° 37′ N.
	Long. 88° 18′ W.

One would suppose that the nature of the soil and climate should determine the proper places for the cultivation of cotton. In Assam, which is between the 25th and 28th degrees of North latitude, and longitude 94° and 99° East, which is more to the north than Tirhoot, sugar grows well, and equal, it is said, to the best Cuba sugar. In *Tirhoot* they have hot winds,[2] in *Assam* they have no hot winds.

Mr. *A. Alexander* said,[3] "The south part of Arabia will become the greatest cotton growing country in the world one day or another." "It is a fine soil, and between there and Bombay[4] enough cotton might be grown to supply England, independently of America, if it be necessary. In fact, I see no limit to the power which *England* possesses in the *East* for extending her trade,[5] provided she only fosters it. All we require, of course, is the means of getting *returns* in some shape or other. Instead of having 100,000,000 of poor Indians to supply, which we have been doing, they are now becoming annually wealthier,[6] and in addition we have countries now opening to us with probably 400,000,000 of population."

The consumption of cotton in India by the Natives is very great.[7] Lieut.-General *Briggs*, of the Madras army, states that *cotton* is used by the Natives for all the purposes that *hemp*, and *flax*, and *hair* are used in England. He assumes there to be 150,000,000 of people, and allows two and a half pounds of cotton for each person, requiring 375,000,000 lbs., or 1,250,000 bales of 300 lbs. each, or 167,410 tons. Dr. *Wight*, of the Madras

[1] The Sunderbunds ("*Soonderbuns*, or beautiful wilderness.")
[2] And *White Ants*.
[3] 1848 Report, 19th February. Answer to question 1843.
[4] So will the East Coast of Africa.
[5] Australia is, as the Americans would say, *going ahead!*.
[6] See Appendix (A).
[7] Book 1848, 17th July, p. 119.

army,[1] who had better opportunities of judging on the subject, raises the amount to twenty pounds per head, which would give an aggregate of 3,000,000,000 lbs. (10,000,000 bales of 3,000 lbs., 1,339,285 tons). I shall not enter into this question with these well-informed persons; but as to Bengal, I should doubt such an amount of consumption, because much of the cotton used for stuffing mattresses, pillows, cushions, etc., is of the common kind found on the *cotton tree*,[2] and which is not, as the merchants say, the cotton of *commerce*. I shall leave this knotty question to be settled between them and the Manchester association. Much of our Indian cotton goes to China. The Chinese may not be such critical judges as the merchants of Manchester.

Flax mixed with cotton.[3]—From the Manchester Examiner,[4] I find that "the possibility of working *Flax* along with *cotton* is a point not to be entirely overlooked." In a recent article on this subject, on Saturday, 28th December, 1850, an error was made:—"We stated that three tons of straw would make five cwt. of the prepared flax; we should have said that five or six cwt. could be obtained from one ton of the straw; and it is only on this calculation that the prepared flax, ready for the *scrutcher* in a cotton mill, can be afforded at so low a price as twopence half-penny or threepence per pound. The experiments made by Mr. *Claussen* are still in progress. We have seen a self-acting mule working throughout with a mixture of *half-cotton* and *half-flax*, and so soon as a little more regularity in the length of the fibre is obtained, we are of opinion that the ordinary coarse yarns and *calicoes* of the trade may be made."

Now flax, as *M'Culloch* says,[5] is grown in Russia, and did supply the largest quantity imported into England. It is grown in Flanders, in Egypt, in New Zealand, in America. "Crushing seed is principally imported from Russia, but considerable quantities are also brought from *India*, Italy, and Egypt." Flax Seed, or Linseed, is to be had in abundance in India. There is plenty of Flax in India, "but among the Hindoos,[6] it is grown solely for the sake of the oil expressed from its seed, the stalk, in which its chief value resides, being thrown aside by them as useless."

[1] Retired, and late Superintendent of the Company's Cotton farm at Coimbatore.

[2] Cotton in knots, and very short—tufts of cotton, indeed hemp (Sun) is often used in India to stuff mattresses and pillow cases, etc., by the Natives.

[3] There is a Flax Company in Ireland working under a charter.

[4] Morning Chronicle, 14th January, 1851.

[5] Pp. 577 to 579 my *Italics*.

[6] Penny Cyclopædia, p. 305, vols. 9—10.

CHAPTER XXIX.

TOBACCO.

TOBACCO was introduced into Europe early in the Sixteenth Century.[1] "*Humboldt* has shewn that Tobacco was the term used in the *Haytian* language to designate the pipe, or instrument made use of by the Natives in smoking the herb;[2] and the term, having been transferred by the Spaniards from the pipe to the herb itself, has been adopted by the other nations of the ancient world." Tobacco is believed to have been first introduced into England by the settlers who returned, in 1586, from the colony which it had been attempting to found in Virginia.[3] It was first smoked at the Bull Inn, at Islington. In 1584, a proclamation was issued against it. The Star Chamber ordered the duties to be 6s. 10d. per pound, 1614. Its cultivation was prohibited in England by Charles II. The cultivation was allowed in Ireland, 1779. The tax was increased, and put under the excise, 1789. The cultivation in Ireland was prohibited in August, 1831. The quantity consumed in England in 1791 was 9,500,000 lbs., and in 1829, about 15,000,000 lbs. In 1840, the quantity had increased to 40,000,000 lbs.[4]

"*Raleigh*, and other young men of fashion, having adopted the practice of smoking, it spread among the English; as it had previously spread among the Spaniards, French, Portuguese, and other continental nations." James I. attempted to restrain the use of Tobacco. His efforts had very little effect. During the early part of the reign of Charles I., the trade in Tobacco was monopolised by the Crown.[5] It ceased with the breaking out of the Civil War.

[1] *M'Culloch*, p. 1,252.

[2] Now, by fashionable gentlemen called the "*Weed*;" "Will you smoke a Weed," is the phrase.

[3] Discovered by *John Cabot*, in 1497. It was taken possession of, and named by *Raleigh*, after the virgin-queen Elizabeth, 13th July, 1584. This was the first British Settlement in North America.—*Haydn's* Dictionary of Dates.

[4] Haydn, from Parliamentary returns.

[5] And now is in France.

There was another mode of using Tobacco—by *chewing* it; and many gentlemen had gold and silver Tobacco boxes,[1] as snuff boxes are used now: but the former were *Magnums*, being twice the size of a snuff box.

Pope *Urban* VIII., in 1624, issued a bull "excommunicating those who smoked in Churches?[2] "The practice of smoking was at one time exceedingly prevalent in this country, but during the reign of George III. it was well nigh superseded, at least among the higher and middle classes, by the practice of *snuff taking!* Latterly, however, smoking has been in some measure revived, though it is still very far from being so *extensively practised as formerly.*"[3]

The Asiatic Journal[4] states that—"In Spain, France, and Germany, in Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, the practice of smoking Tobacco prevails amongst the rich and poor, the learned and the gay. In the United States it very much prevails. It is not uncommon for boys to have a pipe or cigar in the mouth during the greatest part of the day.[5] In Turkey, the pipe is perpetually in the mouth. In the East Indies, not merely all classes, but both sexes inhale the fragrant steam. In China, the habit equally prevails. The smoking of opium in a prepared shape is *first chop* smoking. Indeed, if we take the population of the world at 1,000,000,000 of people, it would be found that smoking is the *rule*, and not smoking the *exception*." When it adds so much to the revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer never condemns the practice as one of an immoral nature. He pockets the tax, and the mass of the people smoke. M. *Pallas*[6] states that "Asia, and especially in China, the use of Tobacco for smoking is more ancient than the discovery of the *New World*." The Chinese and Mongol tribes smoke.

The Tobacco cultivated in *Mexico* is only for home consumption. "Under the Spanish Government, the Tobacco monopoly was

[1] A box made in 1702, is in the possession of a gentleman. An anecdote is told, at what period of our history is not stated, that a person asked an *Oxonian* what it was he had in his mouth, saying "*quid est hoc*," the *Oxonian*, taking the *quid* out of his mouth, replied, (putting it into the others mouth), "*hoc est quid.*" A true story.

[2] *M'Culloch*, p. 1,253.

[3] The tax upon Tobacco was, in 1852, £4,430,000! so that the practice has very much increased.

[4] Vol. 22, p. 142.

[5] "In Spain, the ladies smoke cigars or cigarettes." In India, European ladies, at times, smoke; certainly, those of the *old regime*. Some old officers have been known to have a night Hooqquburdar, and a hole cut in the Musquito curtains, to admit of the Hooqqu snake passing through them, to allow of smoking when they should awake.

[6] *M'Culloch*, p. 1,253.

one of the principal sources of revenue; yielding from 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 dollars.[1]

The quantities retained for home consumption, were, viz:—

		Net Revenue of Customs and Excise.
1789	8,152,185 lbs.	£408,037.
1838[2]	18,436,480 lbs.	£2,828,995.

Manilla, Cuba, the Havannah, are well known in the trade as places from whence the best Cheeroots and Cigars are obtained. In Bengal, the Tobacco from *Sandoway*, in Arracan, is good. The Tobacco of *Chunar* has been celebrated, as well as that of *Bhilsa*;[3] much is sold under these names: but the said Tobacco comes from Tirhoot, where very good Tobacco is produced.[4]

There is a Tobacco monopoly in Rome. It is in the hands of Government. Some time ago, (1851), some young Roman gentleman, it is related, took into his head to spite the Government by *not* smoking, and tried to persuade some others from smoking. The police found out the party, and he was imprisoned in jail for six months. It is said to have the effect of allaying hunger; and, certainly, it is useful in damp weather, or in a climate where malaria prevails. The tax on tobacco at Madras, has been abolished.

[1] At 2s. 3d. From £850,000 to £956,000. *We* collect a tax of £4,430,000 a year.

[2] *M'Culloch*, p. 1,255. Great increase in the revenue, in proportion to the quantity of the article imported.

[3] Of these, but small quantities are produced.

[4] The Indigo planters used to grow it at the cost of 3 rupees (6s.) the maund of 82 lbs.

CHAPTER XXX.

AMALGAMATION OF THE INDIAN ARMIES OBJECTED TO.

I SHALL not, here, consider the financial difficulties of the plan of amalgamation, but simply view it in its *political* and *social* relations. I shall give the opinions of very eminent men, recorded twenty years ago. A well-known General Officer of the Company's army, was asked last month as to his opinion on the subject by a noble Duke. The General Officer objected to it in the *strongest terms*.

The Hon. Mr. *M. Elphinstone* said,[1] "After the change was effected, general and partial arrangements would, from time to time, remove officers from troops composed of one Indian nation to those of another, and even if any one language would really render an officer competent for all duties throughout all India, there are still differences of manners in the Natives which it would take time to learn, and there are great differences in the ways of commanding them, which could not be removed immediately, even if uniformity were to be wished in the treatment of dissimilar bodies. If the consolidation were easy, I do not perceive how it would be advantageous. *Bombay* troops have gone to the *Ganges*,[2] and *Madras* troops to *Ava*,[3] on occasions when such exertions were required; it can never be desirable to make a practice of stationing troops far from their own country.[4] A *Carnatic* man at *Delhi* would be completely a foreigner in appearance and language, and would have to alter his food,[5] and change

[1] Book 6, of 1832, p. 387, par. 8. Extract; my *italics*.

[2] He alluded to their going to Bhurtpoor in 1805. They have lately gone to Moultan and to the Punjab.

[3] Bombay troops went to Egypt (in 1801), Madras troops to the Isle of France (1810), and to Java (1811).

[4] In Germany they often send troops to a distance from where they were enlisted, to prevent too great an attachment to localities, but they are all of one nation.

[5] The Bengal troops stationed in the upper provinces eat *atta* (wheaten flour). In Bengal proper, the people eat *rice*. The Sepoys (born in the

many of his habits. This could not be agreeable to the men, and would tend to discontent and desertions. They might, in time, get accustomed to foreign countries[1] and to long absence from their homes and friends, but it has been remarked by the late General *Sir Thomas Munro*, that the effect of such separations is to render the men mere soldiers, and concentrate all their ideas in their camp. If our danger was from popular insurrections, this might be an advantage; as it is, it seems much more advisable to keep up the soldier's connexion with the people, and bind him to tranquility and regular authority by as many ties as possible."

"It may be intended that such regiment should be composed of a portion of each nation.[2] Military men must be the best judges how far this is practicable, especially in the mixture of *Tamul*[3] Sepoys in the *Bengal* army. The fact of there being *Hindustan* Sepoys in the *Bombay* army,[4] affords a very imperfect solution of the question.

"If troops are not to be employed in remote countries, what is the object of uniting the armies? The equalization of *allowances* alone (if that were practicable), would remove all jealousy between the services;[5] and there can be no disadvantage in the emulation that would remain."[6]

"As the Sepoys are of many different classes, and as they are all liable to be affected by circumstances which have no influence on us, it is more difficult to form anticipations about them than about our countrymen and equals, the officers. The risk of unforseen results applies more strongly to the *transfer* of the Native Army to the King, than to the mere *consolidation* into one body; and considering that our *safety depends entirely on that army*,[7]" it would appear that we should hazard no changes at all, except to remedy *obvious evils*; and none of a general nature, without clear and *urgent necessity*."[8]

upper country), cannot eat *atta* daily, but must use *rice* three or four days in the week. A committee held about thirty years ago, decided this fact. All corps after remaining at Barrackpoor for two years are (as the Natives style it "*Buddun toot gya*"), *done up*.

[1] The mutiny at Java (1815), was caused, as explained in Chapter XXI.

[2] We mix English, Irish, and Scotch together in the same regiment; but perhaps, regiments should not be composed entirely of one nation.

[3] Malabar country.

[4] Since 1818-19.

[5] This is an important question. The Madras Sepoys get grain-money, when it sells at a dear rate.

[6] The Court of Directors in 1772, wrote to the Bengal government to have half Mohammedans and half *Gentoos*, to excite emulation between the two sects, in the Native Infantry.

[7] The Europeans are as one to five and six-sevenths Natives. The Native troops form the principal part of the Indian army.

[8] This opinion was a written statement, as were all the others.

The late General *Sir W. Keir Grant* said,[1] "I do not think it would be advisable to incorporate the Native regiments of the different presidencies or to require them generally to serve beyond the territories in which they were raised. Their temporary removal in time of war is not liable to the same objection;[2] and they have been found to volunteer readily for active service, even in maritime expeditions."[3]

Colonel *Mayne*, C.B., Bombay army, said,[4] "I can see no reason to anticipate any beneficial results from the change; but if it is intended to incorporate the two armies,[5] and to allow indiscriminate transfers from one to the other, there are, in my opinion, insurmountable objections to the measure." It is said Lord *Castlereagh*, in 1814, declared that the Company's army must remain the same in constitution, even if made over to the Crown.[6]

General *Sir T. Pritzler*[7] was in favour of assimilation, but doubted "the advantage of moving Native corps, particularly from the Madras establishment, where their homes are, and where all their relations reside."[8] Colonel W. *Dickson*, Madras cavalry,[9] was in favour of "keeping the troops of the different presidencies within certain limits of their own part of the country; but so far as concerns the internal peace of the country, perhaps it is as well that the three armies should remain as they are." Colonel *Leighton*, Bombay Army,[10] said, "But so far as concerns the internal peace of the country, perhaps it is as well that the three armies should remain as they are." *Sir John Malcolm*,[11] Madras Army, said, "I have changed none of my opinions," and adds, "All my recent experience confirms my conviction of the expediency and wisdom of uniting the armies of the three presidencies of India into *one*." Colonel *Pennington*, Bengal Army, "does not anticipate any advantage from an union of the three armies"; and Colonel *Sherwood*, (Bengal), is also decidedly opposed to such a measure."

[1] Book 6, 1832, p. 396. Latterly Sir W. Keir Grant. He served fifteen years in India, and was commanding the force at Java.

[2] The Bombay troops were sent to Mooltan and to the Punjab.

[3] The Bengal troops went to Egypt (1801), Macao (1808), Mauritius (1810), Java (1811), Ceylon (1818), China (1840, etc.)

[4] Book 6, (1832), p. 478, *par.* 5.

[5] The King's and Company's.

[6] See *Hansard's* Debates.

[7] Book 6, (1832), Synopsis, p. 20, *par.* 147. Her Majesty's service.

[8] Colonel Alexander, late Adjutant-General Madras Army, said, alluding to corps going from Madras to Rangoon, that corps going on service, "did *not* take their families with them." But in moving from station to station at relief, they do.

[9] Book 6, (1832), Synopsis, p. xx. *par.* 149, 150.

[10] Lieutenant-General Sir D. Leighton, formerly Adjutant-General.

[11] Book 6, (1832), Synopsis, p. xx. *par.* 151, 152.

It is stated—"*Union of the three Armies*,"[1] "As to the question of the uniting the armies of the three Presidencies, several officers have expressed a decided opinion against such a measure; and even those who consider it to be at all desirable, express an opinion with considerable qualification."

Against.

Major-General Sir Jasper Nicolls.[2]
Major-General Sir J. Reynell.[3]
Major-General Sir W. K. Grant.[4]
Colonel Mayne, C.B.[5]
Colonel Sherwood.[1]
Colonel Pennington.[1]
Colonel Fielding.[1]
Colonel Leighton.[5]
Colonel W. Dickson.[3]
Hon. M. Elphinstone.[1]

For.

Major-General Sir T. Pritzben.[3]
Major Sir R. Scott.[3]
Major Sir J. Malcolm.[3]
Captain Balmarin.[3]

The Madras Sepoys speak three languages.[5] They are enlisted from districts where one of those languages is spoken, and they all speak the same language in a regiment. The Bengal troops are Hindustan men, and all speak one and the same language.

[1] Book 6, (1832), Synopsis, p. xx., par. 146.
[2] Formerly Commander-in-Chief in India.
[3] Her Majesty's Service.
[4] Her Majesty's Service.
[5] Bombay Officers.
[1] Bengal Officers.
[2] Her Majesty's Service.
[3] Madras Officers.
[5] The Tamul, Teloogoo, and Canarees.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

It is stated by the North British Review for 1850[1] that—"Towards the close of the *second* century, when Commodus was Emperor of Rome, a fleet every year left the Red Sea and proceeded to Ceylon, where tidings of the birth of the Redeemer were conveyed," but the Reviewer says "of the first Indian Missionaries we have no account." But little is known of the progress of the Gospel on Indian soil throughout the whole of the *third* century. It was at the commencement of the *fourth* that the Emperor *Constantine* "seated Christianity on the throne of the Roman world." At the Council of Nice,[2] held under his authority, at the close of the first quarter of that century, one of the prelates assembled, named Johannes, says Mr. *Hough*, subscribed as Metropolitan of Persia and the Great India, a fact which seems to indicate that there was at that time a Christian Church of some bulk and significance planted on the Indian Coast. That thirty years later *Frumentius*, a Tyrian by birth, sailed for India, invested by *Athanasius* with Episcopal authority, and gathered together the scattered Christian flocks which were then dispersed over the Southern Peninsula.

Of the progress of Christianity in the East during the *fifth* century there are few, if any, authentic records. Early in the *sixth* century, he remarks, a merchant of Alexandria named *Cosmos*, visited India, and wrote an account of the places he had seen. "There is," he says, "in the Island of Trapobane (Ceylon)

[1] No. XXVI., August, 1850. Works by the late Rev. Jas. Hough, M.A., Chaplain to the East India Company's Service, Madras, 1839-45. Rev. Dr. A. Duff, Church of Scotland Mission. Edinburgh, 1840. Hand Book of Missions, Rev. Jas. Long, London, 1848.

[2] A.D. 325.

in the furthermost India, in the Indian Sea, a Christian Church with Clergyman and believers. I know not whether there are any Christians beyond that island. In the Malabar country also, where pepper grows, there are Christians, and in Calliana[1] as they call it, there is a Bishop who comes from Persia, where he was consecrated. 'The Gospel had, indeed, been making its way towards India by the *northern* route, through Central Asia; and was preached with success in Persia, in Media, in Armenia, in Bactria, and in the Tartar countries lying to the north of the Great Caucasian Range."

Gibbon says[2]—"The Barbaric Churches, from the Gulf of Persia to the Caspian Sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs." He adds—"In a subsequent age the zeal of the *Nestorians* overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the *Greeks* and *Persians*. The Missionaries of *Balkh* and *Samarcand* pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving *Tartar*, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga."

In the tenth volume of the Asiatic Researches[3] it is stated that "In the *sixth* century there was a College for Christians at *Sirhind*;[4] two monks from it returned to their native country, and being at Constantinople, the Emperor Justinian sent for them to inquire into the nature and origin of silk, and prevailed upon them to go back to *Sirhind*, in order to bring from thence the eggs of the real silk butterfly." It mentions the number of Christians in some particular part of India as amounting to 150,000. St. Thomas is said to have suffered martyrdom at Madras.[5]

The Reviewer continues[6]—"But as the seventh century began to dawn upon Asia, the great imposture of Mahomet arose, and checked for a time the growth of Christianity in the Eastern World,[7] and for a time the Christian Churches languished. Commerce had been, hitherto, the great agent of proselytism, and now that agency was suspended."

Two events distinguished the eighth and ninth centuries. Towards the close of the former, when it appears that the Indian Bishoprics were under the authority of the Nestorian Patriarch

[1] Said to be Callianee, near Bombay.

[2] See Review, p. 585. He had strange notions regarding Christianity.

[3] Communicated by the late Lieut.-Colonel *Wilford*, Bengal Engineers, and a Sanscrit scholar, who resided at Benares, the seat of Hindu learning.

[4] 155 miles N.N.W. from Delhi (Lat, 30° 40′ N.; Long. 75°. 55′ E.) It is near the Sutlej (Punjab).

[5] *St. Thomé.* In Nelson's Festivals, p. 46, the place is called *Malapur*.

[6] P. 587.

[7] The *Higera*, or flight of Mahomed in A.D. 622.

of Selencia, an Armenian merchant, named *Thomas Cana*, took up his abode in Malabar. Before this time the Christian brotherhood, both on this and the Coromandel Coast, persecuted by the Native Princes, had been driven into the interior of the country, to seek refuge on the hills. The influence of this *Thomas* was great throughout Southern India. Under his protection the Native Christians enjoyed security and peace.

It is recorded that in the ninth century, *Alfred the Great*[1] despatched from Great Britain an Embassy under Sighelm, Bishop of Shireburn,[2] to the shrine of the Saint at Madras.[3] Having paid their devotions, the holy men returned home, bringing with them a costly recompence, in the shape of a rich cargo of pearls and spices.

In the tenth century the cause of the pure faith had greatly recovered from the blighting effects of Mohammedan ascendancy, and new efforts were made to support and recruit the churches. It is said that about this time the Christians of St. Thomas were so many and so powerful in Southern India, that they asserted their independence as a people, and erected a sovereignty of their own. For some time they prospered under their Christian Rajahs, until one of them, dying without issue, adopted a heathen prince, as his heir, and from that time the race of Christian rulers was extinct.

"The traders of Arabia yielded the commerce of the Indian seas to the merchants of Genoa and Venice. But the enmity of Mohammedanism was not extinguished, and its power was not suppressed. By the victorious arms of Mahomet II., the Crescent was planted in the capital of the Greek empire, and the mart of Constantinople closed against the European World."

The natives of the west were stimulated to seek another channel by which to import into Europe the wealth of the Oriental mart, and on the common road of the great ocean they tried, for the first time, towards the close of the fifteenth century, the great experiment of a *Western* passage to India, around the stormy promontory of Southern Africa. It was in the year 1497, that *Vasco de Gama*, a subject to the King of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Storms, and steered for that *Western* Coast of India. He reached Calicut, in May, 1498, and from that time we date the new epoch in the history of the Christian Churches in the Indian World.

Long before this the Papacy had been established; but the *Syrian* churches knew nothing about the Papacy—nothing about

[1] Said to have been educated at Rome. He went to Rome with his father, and was sent there again by his father. He was versed in Latin. Hume's History of England, vol. 1, p. 88. He reigned A.D. 871 to 900. The Embassy was sent, A.D. 883.

[2] There is a Sherbun in Yorkshire. *Bourn* means a bound, or limit.

[3] Thomas Cana died fifty years before the Embassy arrived.

Rome.[1] The independence of the primitive churches was soon threatened, and then grievously assailed. But the first Lusitanian invaders were bent on the acquisition of wealth, and cared little about Christianity. They established monasteries; they built churches; but they made few genuine converts. Proselytism in the time of *Albuquerque*, was a matter of state policy, not of Christian zeal and devotion. At length a mightier power than that of the armies of Portugal in the *East* was rising among the peaceful colleges of the *West*. *Ignatius Loyola*[2] had founded a new priestly order, and the reign of the Jesuits commenced.

Francis Xavier accompanied a new Viceroy to Goa. The proselytes of *Xavier* are numbered by his followers, by thousands. He is said to have converted 700,000 to the Christian faith. His converts were drawn from all classes, from princes to pariahs.[3] He had extraordinary success in *Travancore*, and baptised 10,000 heathens in a single month. He then took ship for the *Eastern* Isles, visited *Malacca*, *Amboyna*, *Ternate*, *Java*,[4] and returned to visit the churches in southern India. He returned to *Goa*, and there formed the magnificent design of converting the *Chinese Empire*.[5] But he died on the 2nd December, 1552, at the portals of the Chinese Empire. "In the history of the Jesuits' Missions in India, *Xavier* stands out in solitary grandeur, as the one apostolic man. He went about his own work, and the *Syrian* priests tended their flocks in security and peace. The *Franciscan* friars had endeavoured to undermine the Malabar churches. Then began the great struggle between the two parties. The Christians of Malabar traced their paternity to the Apostle Paul, who went through *Syria* and *Cilicia* confirming the churches. They looked to *Syria* as their spiritual home."

The *Nestorians* were persecuted. "Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy," writes *Gibbon*,[6] "were patiently endured; but, as soon as the *Portuguese* empire was shaken by the courage of the *Dutch*, the *Nestorians* asserted with vigour and effect the religion of their fathers. The unscrupulous prelate (*Menezes*) the successor of *Xavier*, reduced the *Syrian* churches in six months. Mr. *Hough* writes "that the decline of the *Portuguese* interest in India commenced at the very period when he (*Menezes*) flattered himself that he had laid the foundation of its permanency." At

[1] Review, p. 590.

[2] Devoted himself to Theology, A.D., 1521. Made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on his return, laid the foundation of his new Order in France.

[3] The lowest of the low.

[4] Review, p. 594. He proposed a crusade against the Bonzes of Japan.

[5] *Marco Polo* states that the Jesuits had an Archbishop at *Pekin* in his time, (Thirteenth Century). The Roman Catholics have, it is believed, an Archbishop now at *Pekin*, and elsewhere in China.

[6] Review, p. 598.

the close of the Seventeenth Century, the *Jesuits* were rapidly transplanting the *Franciscans* in all parts of the southern provinces of India. From *Goa* went forth a stream of Missionaries to evangelize the whole continent of India; but in the regions watered by the *Ganges*, they were disheartened and repulsed, and soon abandoned their work in despair.

Robert de Nobilibus,[1] and his associates and successors, in southern India, addressed themselves to, and sought converts among the Brahmins. "They had studied, and they understood the Native languages;[2] they had made themselves familiar with, and were ready to adopt the habits and customs of the Natives. "They called themselves *Western Brahmins;* and in the disguise of Brahmins they mixed themselves with the people, talking their language, following their customs, and countenancing their superstitions. Clothed in the sacerdotal yellow cloth, with the mark of *Sandal* wood on their foreheads, their long hair streaming down their backs, their copper vessels[3] in their hands, their wooden sandals on their feet, these *New Brahmins* found acceptance among the people, and were welcomed by the princes of southern India. They performed their ablutions[4] with scrupulous regularity, they ate no animal food; they drank no intoxicating liquors, but found in the simple fare of vegetables,[5] and milk, at once a disguise and a protection. The Christians had appeared among them eating and drinking—gluttonous and wine bibbers, and they had paid the penalty of an addiction to these feverish stimulants under the burning copper skies of the east." etc.

"According to their own showing,[6] their success among the

[1] Nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine, and a near relation of Pope Marcellus II.

[2] The remark made by Mr. *Wilberforce*, that translations of the Bible would effect more in the business of conversion than the Missionaries, may be estimated by the consideration, that there are a great number of languages and dialects, and the Missionaries do not know them all. The Apostles were told not to depart from *Jerusalem*, (Acts i., ver. 4.), but wait for the promise of the father, "when fulfilled (Chap. ii., ver. 4.), they began to speak with other tongues, as the spirit gave them utterance."

[3] To contain water, or to draw it from wells, &c.

[4] Of bathing, &c.

[5] Mr. *Forbes*, (Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii., 74), tells a story of a gentleman showing a solar microscope to a liberal minded Brahmin, and in opposition to the scheme of the *Metempsychosis*, discovered to him the innumerable *animalculæ* devoured by the Brahmins on every fruit and vegetable they eat. The Brahmin begged to have the microscope, and when given to him, smashed it to pieces on the ground, declaring, "O that I had remained in that happy state of ignorance wherein you first found me. I am miserable, I must continue so to be until I enter on another stage of existence." Some classes put gauze over their mouths to prevent their swallowing *animalculæ*. The poor Brahmin did not know that he had been swallowing them all his life. He might have said, "*If ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise!*"

[6] P. 600.

Brahmins was very small, and they soon began to see the necessity of flying at lower game. They went among the villagers, condescended to pariahs,[1] and achieved great triumphs over babes and sucklings.[2] The Christianity of *Madura* under the Jesuits, was indeed undistinguished idolatry.[3] Except that the Image of the Virgin Mary was worshipped in the temples and paraded upon the cars, there was little change in the old ceremonies and processions of Hindooism. There was the same noise of trumpets, and taum taums[4] and kettle drums; there was the same blaze of rockets, and Roman candles, and blue lights; there were the same dancers, with the same marks of sandal wood and vermilion on their naked bodies." They went among the people with great parade of caste, and declared that they were sprung from the head of *Brahma* himself.[5]

That the oppression of the Churches, however, was the ruin of *Portugal* in the East, is no rhetorical flourish. "The *Dutch*," writes Mr. *Hough*,[6] "entirely devoted to commercial pursuits, are said to have totally neglected them, at least, so far as related to their religious improvements. The dawn of the eighteenth century found the authority of *Rome* a mere shadow among the *Syrian* Churches."

The "*New Brahmins*" were detected at last. They were found to be only *Feringhees*[7] in disguise; and the Natives rejected their ministrations with anger and contempt.

Early in the seventeenth century, the *Danes*[8] were established at *Tranquebar;* but it was not till the commencement of the eighteenth century, that they turned their thoughts towards the evangelisation of the heathen. In the year 1705, Frederick IV. of Denmark, sent two Protestant Missionaries to *Tranquebar*—Bartholomew *Ziegenbalg* and *Henry Plutscho*. They went out to India, not to baptise, but to convert the heathen. They commenced to learn the languages. In spite of the difficulty of

[1] The lowest of the low.

[2] It is an argument at the present day, that the conversions are chiefly among the lowest castes. The higher castes must be approached by translations, as recommended by Mr. *Wilberforce*.

[3] *Vossius* says,—"The public worship of idols was introduced by Ninus, King of Assyria, 2059 years B.C. This would give, at this date, 3912 years ago; and must be many years before the oldest Hindu Book, as the *Rig Veda* is only reckoned about 3200 years old; so that the Hindoos must have copied the idols they have in use at the present day.

[4] Usually called "*Tom Toms*."

[5] The *Brahmins* are said to spring from the *head*, and the *Soodras* (lowest of the four castes), from the *feet* of *Brahma*.

[6] P. 601, as to the Syrian Christians.

[7] Franks (Europeans).

[8] P. 604.

obtaining access to the *Vedas*,[1] they had gained an insight into Hindu literature and theology, so as greatly to alarm the Brahmins.[2] "It is the glory of these Danish Missionaries that they were the first to attempt the conversion of the Natives of India, by means of the translation of the Scriptures and the education of youth." "The Romanists had relied on an unintelligible preaching, and an equally unintelligible ceremony of baptism. The *Danish* Missionaries transferred the wisdom of Revelation into the vulgar tongue of the Natives, and in due course the words punctured on the primitive *palmyra*[3] leaf were perpetuated and multiplied, in enduring characters, by the magic agency of the printing press.[4] They also formed schools.[5] At length the House of *Hanover* smiled approvingly on the great Christian movement in the East."

The wars of the *English* and *French* threw many difficulties in the way of British Missionaries. The history of *Christian Frederick Schwartz*, is well known. He is called "the best and noblest in the history of Christianity in India." He had studied the *Tamul* language at the University of *Halle*,[6] and preached to the Natives within four months from the time of his arrival at *Tranquebar*. He converted the Rajah of *Tanjore*. The Rajah had listened with attention to his discourses, which alarmed the Brahmins, but eventually they failed in keeping *Schwartz* from the Rajah, who never forgot his Christian friend. The best proof of the appreciation of the character of this inestimable man, is the fact, that during our War in India of 1780 with *Hyder Ali* of Mysore, he was trusted by our enemy—*Hyder*, hearing that the English wished to treat with him for peace, said,—"Let them send the *Christian*[7] to me; I need fear no deceit from him." His mission was unsuccessful, as *Hyder* could not agree to our terms. But, during the war, *Hyder* issued a decree to his officers, commanding them to treat the holy man with kindness and respect in his movements about the country

[1] Mr. H. H. *Wilson's* lecture, on the *Rig Veda*, and in relation to *Suttee*, proves that the Brahmins did not wish Europeans to know the whole truth.

[2] The Work published in A.D. 600, introducing Kreshna, as stated by Mr. *Bently*, in his Hindu Astronomy, was "to make the Hindoos believe that the *Christ* of the Europeans was derived from *Kreshna!*"

[3] The *Papyrus*, the reed from which the celebrated paper of Egypt and *India*, used for writing until the discovery of parchment, about 190 B.C. (*Haydn*).

[4] The march of intellect was abroad. These Missionaries made paper for themselves (1706)—their European printer died, and they instructed another. Mr. *J. C. Marshman*, of Serampoor, made his own paper many years ago.

[5] English was not *then* taught.

[6] In Lower Saxony.

[7] Schwartz, "to whom money was no temptation!" he remarked.

on Missionary duties. This proves how much the character of the Missionary is connected with the object of his mission.

At the close of 1680, the foundation stone of the first English Church at Madras was laid. In 1716 Calcutta could boast of a Protestant Church. In 1718, an English Church was erected at Bombay. There were but few Chaplains in India in 1806.

There are now:—

	Bishop.	Archdeacon.	Chaplains.	Totals.
Bengal[1]	1	1	71	73
Madras	1	1	35	37
Bombay.....	1	1	30	32
Totals	3	3	136	142

In 1806:—

Bengal	11	11
Madras	6	6
Bombay	4	4
Total		21

It would be a great advantage if the old system were adopted of having a Chaplain attached to each European regiment. It must be of great use to the men to know their Chaplain, and that he should know them and their mode of life. It is conceived that an Assistant-Chaplain[2] should be appointed at least a year before he goes out to India. The Hebrew language is, it is believed, very little taught in England.

Though it is no part of the Company's Chaplain's duty to assume the Missionary character, still he should be able to converse with the Natives. Many of the American Missionaries read Hebrew—not a usual study, to any extent, at the Universities. In fact, I think all officers, chaplains, and other servants of the East India Company should be specially educated for the Indian service. They should go to India with some tolerably well-read knowledge of the country they are going to. All servants of the East India Company should indeed pass an examination. Why submit the young writer[3] or the cadet to an examination and not insist upon the same ordeal in the case of all other servants of the Government?

It appears that there was a Nestorian Bishop, who, about 1100

[1] Went to Calcutta in 1814. The other in 1834.

[2] There are two classes—Assistant-Chaplains, and Chaplains.

[3] One of the questions put to a writer at Haileybury some years ago, was—"How many square miles are there in the Island of Jamaica?"

years ago, was set over a tribe of Arabs. He died at Aden. The following inscription authenticates the fact.

At Aden there was an Hamaiyaric inscription.[1] "No. 5.—Inscription is of great interest as relating to the history of one of the Nestorian Bishops, called, in the Chronicles of *Dionysius, Zacchæus;* who, about the year A.D. 759, was ordained by the Patriarch George, and set over the tribe of Arabs called *Charmæ.* Below his image, sculptured on a piece of white marble, that was probably built into the wall of a church, the following is inscribed."

"*Rab sana Waris shava Inad za aum Ghahas sadina Ba Andam.*" *Translation*—"The Lord of Peace, heir of Shava, who by right superintended the Church of the perverse remote nations. The venerated Master of the people, the Saint Zaha."

"The people called *Charmæ,* over whom *Zacchæus* of the above inscription was placed, are mentioned by Pliny as the people of Arabia, in the vicinity of *Minæi,* who were southwards of the *Atramitæ,* or people of Hazramaut," etc.

Upon the subject of Hindia and Hindia Missions, the Rev. Dr. *Alexander Duff*[2] writes, "Where is there any instance of any great reformation of the prevailing national faith and manners, in any country, having been achieved, except by a Native or Natives? Look at the great legislative and religious reformers of the East, and of the West—of China and India, Persia and Arabia, Greece and Rome. Look at the History of Christianity itself." He instances the Apostles as Jews sent to convert their brethren and the Gentiles.

He says, "Look again[3] to the Great Reformation in the sixteenth century. Were not the reformers of every kingdom in Europe, natives of the kingdom reformed? Had not Germany its Luthers and Melancthons? Switzerland, its Bezas and Calvins? England, its Cranmers[4] and Ridleys? Scotland, its Knoxes and Melvilles?" He adds,[5] "So in like manner we must conclude, from the analogy of history and providence, that, *when the set time arrives, the real reformers of Hindustan will be qualified Hindus*" "To gain this object," he proceeds—"To secure[6] a race of Native propounders of the truth as it is in Jesus,

[1] From vol. ii., p. 36 of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1844 to 1848), 1848.

[2] Of the Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta, published in Edinburgh in 1839, p. 329. A most learned man.

[3] Page 330.

[4] He had subscribed to the doctrine of the Papal supremacy, but recanted at the stake. "It is pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants." Vol. iv. pp. 388, 389 (A. 61556). *Hume's* History of England.

[5] Page 331.

[6] Page 334.

fraught with the possession of all knowledge, human and divine, and richly endowed with the treasures of grace, is our grand specific and central design, in wishing to establish Christian Seminaries in India after the model of those at home." And to enforce this opinion he says,[1] "And why should the European missionary insist, against the nature of things, and the lessons of experience, on doing that which he can never adequately achieve?" Hence they are to teach Natives to become missionaries. "They may preach[2] to the classes of preparandi every day; they may preach to other audiences as often as they list; they may engage in all the miscellaneous business necessary to the prosperity of the mission." He says, "We[3] could scarcely expect any one of the patriarchs of our British Churches preaching in Bengali, or Mahratta, or Tamul, or Sanskrit!" Again he says,[4] "The learned Native in Wales[5] has for his Welsh countryman the apostolic gift of the tongue. The learned Native in the Highlands of Scotland has for his Gaelic countrymen the apostolic gift of the tongue. The learned Native of Bengal has for his Bengali countrymen the apostolic gift of the tongue. And so the learned Native of every kingdom, and nation, and province, under heaven."

After having disposed of the physical impossibilities of European Missionaries undergoing the constant fatigue, and wear and tear of constitution in daily and hourly moving about the country in their constant avocations,[6] Dr. *Duff* concludes, "The *third* and *last* of the great measures of evangelization, is the TRANSLATION AND CIRCULATION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. Connected with the prosecution of this object, there are as many broad fallacies, as many crude and undigested notions afloat, as on the subject of education and preaching. It is not a little curious that, among the most enthusiastic advocates of the Bible and Tract circulation, are to be found many who are the most hostile to education[7]—as if the distributed Bible could be of any avail to a people without an antecedent education to qualify them for perusing it!" It was the opinion of the celebrated Mr. *Wilberforce* that the translation of the Bible would do more good than the Missionaries. Those who read the translations can, at any time, read them again, and consider and reflect upon what they read, in the same manner that the perusal of a sermon in a man's own

[1] Page 335. The climate against European energy, etc.
[2] Page 341.
[3] Page 342.
[4] Page 355.
[5] Page 355.
[6] The "Jesuit in India" complains of the great number of deaths among the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and of the well-paid Protestant Missionaries. The Governments of India do *not* pay these Missionaries.
[7] This the Roman Catholics are accused of.

study, produces often more lasting effect than the sermon preached. It is before the reader to refer to.

Mr. *Warren Hastings*[1] was of opinion that it would not be proper to allow of Missionaries preaching, "with a view to the conversion of the Native Indians, that Mahomet is an impostor, or to speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins and their religious rites." In an ordination sermon preached on the 13th May, 1847, by the Rev. *K. M. Banǫjea*,[2] he said,[3] as to the Christian minister, "*The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing them that oppose themselves.*"[4] "It rather becometh us as ambassadors of the meek and lowly Jesus to exercise the forbearance which our Lord himself displayed when he tabernacled among men; and instead of irritating, by unseasonable declamations, it is our duty to set forth before them the majesty and grandeur of evangelical truth, attested by history and prophecy, and hallowed by its moral triumphs over sin, idolatry, and barbarism. And this forbearance and humility are peculiarly needed in India. Here we are surrounded by millions who know not the Gospel, and acknowledge not our ministerial authority. It would betray an equal departure from the spirit of Christianity, were we either to reflect without emotion on the spiritual desolation around us, or allow ourselves to be betrayed into *intemperate language*[5] *and supercilious conduct towards the nation we desire to convert.*"

St. Paul knew[6] that his business was "not to indulge a spirit of abuse and vituperation against those whose blindness he deplored; not to deny any relics of primeval revelation which they might have retained in their philosophy, nor to magnify their faults and detract from their merits; not to boast like the Pharisee, in the parable, of his own higher position, or the superiority of his nation or order, nor to disgust his hearers by casting a slur upon their *manners and customs*,[7] and by flat declamations against everything that was venerable in their estimation."

Alluding to one of the candidates for ordination that day, he says,[8] "*Bred and educated in early life as a Hindu, he naturally brings with himself a knowledge of the hostile camp, and an apti-*

[1] Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 25, p. 427, formerly Governor-General of India, examined 30th March, 1813, by the Committee of the House of Commons. Answer to the above proposed Question.

[2] Minister of Christ Church, (Cornwallis' Square) Calcutta, on the Ordination of Native Ministers. He gave me a copy of *the sermon*.

[3] Page 8.

[4] Romans ii., 19, 20.

[5] My *Italics*.

[6] Page 10.

[7] My *Italics*.

[8] Do. p. 13.

tude for pursuing the enemy to the inmost recesses of idolatry, which could scarcely be expected in a foreigner." This proves the advantage of Native Missionaries. The effects to be expected are accurately described by the Rev. *K. M. Banerjea.* "*The bulwarks of idolatry are already reeling from their foundations in the metropolis of British India, under the powerful influence of education; and this influence is spreading far and wide over districts and villages, under the auspices of a generous and paternal government.*"[1]

The "*Jesuit in India,*" while deploring the number of deaths among the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and of the want of pecuniary means among its members, wrongfully states that the Governments of India *pay* the Protestant Missionaries. It is not the fact. I find that the Church Missionary Society[2] has an income of £120,932. The *local funds,* raised and expended in India, etc., £10,783 16s. 3d., on account of the general expenses of the Society at home and abroad, exclusive of special and local funds, but including China. On account of disabled Missionaries etc., £6,737 12s. 9d. Gross expenditure of last year, £118,257 16s. 1d.[3] There are many other Societies for the same object. The *Report* states that "The Church Missionary Society is a mere voluntary association—it is founded on no *state* provisions."

The *Record* states that the Benares College has 500 pupils. The accessions to the Christian Church were a Mohammedan, his wife and two children, and also two adult Brahmins. At Agra, where there is a large Mussulman population to contend with, there are 500 converts, and 122 communicants. In the Punjab, there are among the Native teachers in the school at Amritsur two *Sikhs.*

The Hon. and Rev. B. *Noel*[4] said—"Thirty years were employed by *Carey* in bringing the Bengalee Scriptures to an approach towards perfection, and thirty years more have been devoted by his learned successors to the completion of the work—sixty years of assiduous labour to bring one version of the Bible to a satisfactory condition! There are," he said, "now 175 translations of the Scriptures (forty in the European languages and dialects), and a revised New Testament in Chinese. For the learned, however, there is the Bible in the *Sanscrit;* the Mohammedan has not been forgotten; efforts have been made to supply the whole peninsula of Hindustan with the Word of God." He

[1] The Rev. Gentleman is now Bengali translator to the Bengal Government.

[2] The Record, 5th May, 1853.

[3] For the bishop's college, near Calcutta, the above Society subscribed £50,000. The Society for propogating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, gave £5,000. The amount from all was nearly £48,000. P. 108, Inshington's Calcutta Institutions.

[4] Record, 6th May, 1853. British and Foreign Bible Society.

added—"In India especially, however, the Society's work is of the greatest importance. We have 400 Missionaries there." That now, the Missionary labours were not interfered with in China.[1]

At the fifty-first Anniversary[2] the Bishop of *Cashel* said—"It was not *Luther* who caused the Bible to be used in this country. Contemporary with him, it was already doing its work in England. Having been translated into Greek by *Erasmus*, it went to Cambridge and Oxford, and was the means of converting *Tyndal*, who commenced our Reformation." And the Bishop said—"It is not *preaching* that will convert the people, they must have the *Bible* in their own *tongue*." (*Cheers.*) This is precisely the opinion given by Dr. *Duff*.

At the British and Foreign School Society[3] Dr. *Duff* said that the "Auxiliary Tract Society at *Calcutta* had, within the last thirty years, issued in many languages not fewer than 4,000,000 of tracts, and the Society at *Madras* had circulated 3,500,000."

At the *Ragged School Union* Dr. *Duff* said—"He had been led to compare notes as between the *heathen of London* and the *heathen of India*, and, much as he had been horrified at the *Baccha-nalian* orgies of Hindu heathenism, he had witnessed in this metropolis scenes which, in his opinion, surpassed anything that he saw even in the East. On the previous day he had been led to visit what was called '*Rag Fair*.' That might not appear an employment befitting the Sabbath Day, but until Ministers turned out on that day, and left the big Churches to visit the dingy lanes and alleys, the Augean stable would never be cleaned out."[4] (*Cheers.*)

The Government of Bengal makes a small monthly payment to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, and to a Roman Catholic Priest for every European regiment, Queen's or Company's, in India.[5] If the Roman Catholic Missionaries are left poor and destitute it is the fault of the Roman Catholics themselves.

The Natives of India are very apt to take everything in a literal sense, and in explaining the Commandments, or rather the Fourth Commandment, regarding the duty of servants not to

[1] The Roman Catholics have many Missionaries in China.

[2] Record, 6th May, 1853. My *Italics*.

[3] Record, 13th May, 1853.

[4] To England, it might be said—"Judge not, that ye be not judged."—"And why beholdest thou the *mote* that is in thy brother's eye, but considereth not the *beam* that is in thine own eye?"—*Matthew*, chap. vii., verses 1 and 3. Ninth Anniversary, Monday, 9th May, at Exeter Hall.

[5] The Archbishop is allowed 200 rupees (£20) a month. The priests have 50 rupees (£5) a-month—both are confessedly too small, and compels the Roman Catholic soldiers to pay more than double the 50 rupees a month!!!

do any kind of work on the Sabbath Day, caution is required. It so happened that a certain Bishop of Calcutta one Sunday (as usual) ordered his carriage for the purpose of going to Church, when, to his amazement, the servant reported that the new coachman objected to drive the carriage to Church, as it would be contrary to one of the Commandments. His Lordship was compelled to go to Church in his Palkee carried by four[1] bearers. This is a true story, and exhibits the necessity of recollecting the difference of climate between Calcutta, with the thermometer at ninety degrees, and that of England at seventy-six degrees, or a less amount of temperature. Some people in England will not use their carriages on a Sunday, but always walk to Church. Had it been the cold season the Bishop of Calcutta might have done the same thing. The above anecdote is merely related to prove that we must first enlighten the Natives of India before we make them Christians. Let me conclude with these words, as they have virtues as well as faults:—

"To their virtues be a little kind,
To their faults be a little blind."

I must add a few lines from the *Daily News* of the 19th May, 1853, regarding the "*British and Foreign Unitarian Society*,"[2] "Steps have been taken to increase the number of Ministers, and by the aid of the Society to enable established congregations to have the regular ministration of preachers. Efforts had been again made to bring the claims of the denomination before the British and Foreign School Society, but as yet without success. Means had been taken to oppose a Bill now before Parliament for the registration of denominational Chapels, which it was believed impaired the usefulness of the Dissenters' Chapel Bill. A plan had been adopted of forwarding the interests of the Society, by the appointment of the Rev. *Hugh Hutton* as an agent or Missionary; and that gentleman had read a statement of his Missionary labours all over the country, in the course of which he had collected a sum of £220. The accounts from *India* were satisfactory, as to the establishments at *Madras* and *Secunderabad*. The success of the Book and Tract Department had been most satisfactory. Reference was also made to the steps which were being taken for increased attention to the education of Ministers, and the proposed removal of the new College from Manchester to London."

[1] Four *carry* the palanquin (palkee), but a set consists of six men. Thus the bishop employed six instead of three men, the carriage having a coachman and two grooms, or saeeses.

[2] The Annual General Meeting of this Association, held on the 18th May, 1853, at the Chapel, Little Portland Street.

"The object of the Association was to afford assistance to the various Chapels and Congregations of the *Unitarian body*, and that the apprehensions which had been expressed at the last meeting of the decay of that body had been materially diminished by the operations of the Association, and the liberality of the subscriptions in furtherance of its object." It was supposed that *Liverpool*, and not *Manchester*, had been the head quarters of the Association.

It is to be hoped that none of the East India Company's Chaplains belong to this Association. It is not according to the doctrine held by the Church of England. Our Saviour said[1]—"Every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." If *Unitarian* Missionaries preach to the Natives of India one doctrine, and those of the Church of England Mission another, what will the people of India say? They will say, "Why should we depart from our religion when these Christians are divided amongst themselves?"

[1] Matthew, xii. 25.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

THERE are various opinions as to the propriety of passing the new Act for the continuance to the East India Company of their tenure of the Government of British India, during this session. The public not having seen the whole of the evidence submitted to both Houses of Parliament, can, at present, form no correct judgment. The *Programme* of eight distinct points for investigation is sufficiently extensive to require much evidence. There has been abundance of information reported as to the working of the double Home Government as well as that of India, or rather of the Government of India.[1] We must look to the remaining six points to be inquired into: of these the petitions from the Natives of India are not the least important. By the courtesy of the Committee of the House of Commons, many officers and servants of the East India Company's service have been admitted to hear the evidence given before that honourable body. In the House of Lords it is not usual to admit strangers to hear evidence given before their Committees.

In 1813, the object of the Government was to open the trade to India to all the subjects of the United Kingdom. The Earl of *Lauderdale*,[2] in the House of Lords, on the 5th July, 1813, wished to delay the passing of the India Bill. His Lordship[3] considered the season too far advanced, and alluded to the thin attendance of their Lordships. On the 18th July, 1813,[4] his Lordship entered his protest against the second reading. In the House of Commons,[5] Mr. *R. Smith* proposed a provision, "reserving to parliament the right, at any time pending the continuance

[1] Report from the select Committee of the House of Lords, as to the operation of the Act of 3 and 4 William IV., cap. 85., Session 1852, ordered to be printed 29th June, 1852, pp. 430. Report of the select Committee of the House of Commons, on Indian Territories, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 29th June, 1852, pp. 1006. Another batch is nearly printed.

[2] Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. xxvi., May to July, 1853, p. 1100.

[3] Hansard's ditto p. 1218, 16th July, 1813.

[4] Hansard's ditto p. 1219.

[5] Hansard's ditto p. 1169, 8th July, 1813.

of the Charter, to interpose its legislative authority in any manner it should deem expedient, in order to provide for the happiness or good government of the people of India." Lord *Castlereagh* said, "that the clause which the hon. member proposed to amend, was exactly in the same words as the former Act (1793), and was not necessary." It was rejected without a division. The report was brought up in the House of Commons on the 12th July, 1813,[1] after the speeches from eight members. Lord *Castlereagh*[2] said, "if it was wished that any further inquiry should take place, those gentlemen who entertained such a wish, had it in their power to submit a motion to the House for that purpose."

Lord *Castlereagh* moved the third reading of the East India Company's Charter bill, on the 13th July, 1813. Mr. *Robert Thornton*[3] "implored the noble Lord not to press the third reading at present, but to allow the Court of Proprietors a reasonable time to read and consider the bill in its amended shape. He then stated the resolution which had been this day come to by the Court of Proprietors, in which they called upon those Directors who had seats in Parliament, to move for a short delay, for the purpose he had stated.[4] Lord *Castlereagh* professed great

[1] Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. xxvi., May to July, 1813, p. 1184.
[2] Hansard's ditto p. 1193.
[3] Hansard's ditto p. 1201, Chairman of the Court of Directors.
[4] The Earl of *Derby*, in the House of Lords, on the 2nd April, 1852, said, "Such were the arrangements of the Act of 1833, which evidently contemplated a reconsideration of the question, and of the *whole principle of Government*, at the end of twenty years, but which undoubtedly contemplated the *continuance of the political powers* of the Company, with such modifications as might be suggested, for a *period of forty years*, because till the expiration of *that* period the *Government had no power of extinguishing the stock*. With that Act of 1833 the *Court of Proprietors ceased*, as I have said, to have any control or interest whatever in the affairs of India." "Further than that, as to their *dividends*, they have no functions whatever to perform. It is true they may meet and discuss together, but, with regard to the legislation for India, any decision or unanimous vote of the total Court of Proprietors need not exercise the slightest influence over the conduct of the Government. And, indeed, when you look to the present position of the Court of Proprietors, there is some reason why they should not exercise any power over the affairs of India, for they have no interest in it except such as they derive from the payment of dividends, which are made a first charge upon the revenue." "The power which devolves upon these proprietors is in itself a material element in the machinery by which Indian affairs are conducted, but that is the sole power they possess." "Except as to the *election* of *Directors*," he added, "and as a check upon the grant of *certain gratuities*."—*Times*, 3rd April, 1852, my *Italics*. Mr. *J. C. Melvill* proposed a *quorum* in the Court of Proprietors, as in the House of Commons. The Court of Proprietors, March, 1764, compelled the Court of Directors to send Lord Clive to India, as Governor and Commander in Chief of Bengal, (*Malcolm's* Life of Clive, vol. ii, p. 233). The query is,—will the Proprietors speak at Quarterly Meetings, after the 30th April, 1854. There are five directors who are members of Parliament at this present time.

respect for the Court of Proprietors, and a desire to conform to their wishes, as far as he could in duty do so. The convenience of Parliament, however, must not be forgotten. The session was now drawing to its close, and this was almost the only business before that House. Many gentlemen in that house, and many noble lords in the other, were, at great inconvenience to themselves, obliged to stay in town to attend the progress of this bill. If the Court of proprietors wished to see the bill in its perfect form, "they should wait till it had passed the House, with all the amendments which *might yet be introduced.* If it passed the two Houses, they might then see it complete, and printed; and time might then be allowed them to make *their option*, whether they would *accept* it, or *not*. He did not suppose that any person would advise his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to give the royal *assent* to it, if the proprietors did not *choose to accept it.* As to the *principle* of the bill, he thought that the Court of *Proprietors* could hardly expect that any observations which they might now make, would be sufficient to *alter* the opinion which Parliament had deliberately *expressed*, after the maturest discussion." "He, therefore, should oppose any *delay*, which would necessarily cause the bill in its remaining stages to be disposed of by a *thinner attendance of members.*"

Mr. *Grant*[1] and Mr. *R. Smith* said a few words in favour of the *delay* that the Court of Proprietors asked for. Mr. *Bathurst* opposed delay, on the same grounds which had been taken by Lord *Castlereagh*. Mr. *Tierney* reminded the noble Lord and the House, "that the time which he had all along suggested as the most proper for a short delay, was between the report of the bill and its third reading. He believed, that there was no instance in the journals of Parliament, of a bill of such great magnitude being read a third time the very day after the report was received." "Lord *Castlereagh* would not consent to what appeared to him unnecessary and gratuitous delay." The House divided: for Mr. *Tierney's* amendment, 18; against it, 57; majority 39. The bill was then read a third time. After several speeches from many members, we read, "The Bill was then passed."[2] This Act was to open the trade to India.

The Act of 3 and 4 William III., took away the East India Company's trade to China. "The Court of Directors,[3] with the exception of the Chairman and Deputy,[4] agreed to recommend to the Proprietors to assent to the plan of the Government. A General Court was in consequence held on the 13th of August, when

[1] Director East India Company.
[2] See pp. 1201 to 1207, passed the 13th July, 1813.
[3] Wilson's History of British India, vol. ix., p. 557.
[4] Robert Thornton, Esq., M.P., and the *Hon.* W. F. Elphinstone.

the resolutions of the Court of Directors, and the minutes of the several members, were laid before the meeting. In conformity with the recommendation of the court, a resolution was moved by Mr. *Randle Jackson*,[1] which, while it expressed the entire concurrence of the General Court in the strong objections entertained by the Court of Directors to the provisions of the bill, yet, referring to past proceedings, and looking to the difficult situation in which they were placed, declared it to be the intention of the Proprietors to defer to the determination of the Legislature, relying on its wisdom and justice, in the event of the expectation held out by Her Majesty's ministers being disappointed, for such further legislative measures as the interest of India, and those of the East India Company, might require." The Bill passed the House of Lords on the 19th August, and received the royal assent on the 20th.[2]

There has arisen an erroneous notion as to the little investigation made with regard to India. The *Appendix* (D), will exhibit seventy-seven Blue Books from the years 1834 to 1853,[3] so that during the administrations of five governments, there have been various large committees of both houses of Parliament sitting, so that they might as well have been almost called standing committees. There has been one imperfection, I take the liberty to suggest, in their constitution—the absence of some *military* officers, of the Royal Army, and of the East India Company's service, as well as of some civil servants.[4] A military man would certainly aid any committee in their military inquiries. Though they should not be members of Parliament, they might be styled "Professional and extraordinary members." I think that even the members of the Manchester Association must acknowledge that the Governments of this country have been most indulgent to the commercial interests of the nations trading to India; and I am sure that all right-thinking men will pay full and ample attention to the cause of the Natives of India.

The consumption of *Coffee* in the United Kingdom, has been in the years ending 5th January,

	1851.	1852.	1853.
Coffee, lbs.	...31,226,840[5]	32,564,194	35,044,376
Tea, ,,	51,178,215	53,965,112	54,724,615

So that it will be seen the proportional increase has been greater in *Coffee* than in *Tea*.

[1] East India Company's standing Counsel.

[2] The East India Company made a considerable profit by the China trade.

[3] Equal to about 30,000 pages folio, or 1500 pages yearly, or 50 per cent. more than in the sixty previous years; and one-third relating to commerce, etc.

[4] Of whom there are many in the rank of from Lieutenant-Generals to Colonels; and of retired civil servants.

[5] Imports and exports of the United Kingdom. Returns published the

	1851.	1852.	1853.
Sugar	684,579,952	700,624,288	776,134,576[1]
Tobacco	27,734,785	28,062,978	28,558,939
Opium	42,324	50,368	62,521

Opium has increased 47 per cent. in the last *two* years; and the population has only increased about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Salt, bushels	15,819,664	18,265,693	19,863,956
,, lbs.[2]	885,400,984	1,022,378,6008	1,111,781,536
Indigo, cwts.	70,482	89,944	83,565
Wool Cotton, cwt.	5,924,793	6,762,320	8,287,886
British India	——	1,094,884	757,372

Bengal is, however, the chief mart for *indigo;* and the quantity produced in other places is comparatively inconsiderable.[3] As to sugar, it is said,[4] that in the last three years ending 1842, the average quantity retained for home consumption was about 192,000 tons. In 1853 we had 346,488 *tons,* or about 80 per cent. increase in eleven years, of which India supplies above one-fifth. In 1844,[5] it is stated that the consumption was about 21.6 lb. per head. It is now 27 or 28 lbs. per head.

The trade of British India has contributed much to supply the United Kingdom with a considerable proportion of many of the articles required in British manufactures. As to the extent of the supply, it is rather a question of *time,* than as to *capability!* Had the East India Company not existed, none of the merchants of our country could have supplied us with the means of improving and extending the commercial greatness of the nation. And if, in effecting such great advantages, a debt has been incurred of about $\frac{1}{7}$th part of the national debt:—still the same causes which have produced our national debt—war——have been operating as well in Europe as in British India. We have had in India to combat with the *French, Dutch,* and *Portuguese,* and each of these, in our absence, would have striven for the great eastern prize!—While, after we had obtained the mastery in the great struggle, we have been often forced by circumstances to contend with the Native powers, who were themselves using every effort to drive us back, and to recover what they had lost of the conquests they had made on the breaking up of the Mohammedan Government of

17th February, 1852, and 14th February, 1853. Coffee of whatever growth, since 15th April, 1851, charged with the same duty.

[1] This gives about 28 lbs. a-head, at a population of 27,500,000 persons, of 1851, (346,488 *tons*).

[2] At 56 lb. per bushel. An export from the United Kingdom.

[3] M'Culloch, p. 698.

[4] Ditto, p. 1186.

[5] Ditto, p. 1192.

India. It was the dismemberment of the Imperial Empire which threw the whole of India into a state of anarchy, and which nothing but an *European Power* could have restored to order. Providence seems to have chosen Britain as the instrument to regenerate India.

The East India Company have been accused of neglect in not making public works. Mr. *Herries*, when president of the Board of Control in 1852, said, regarding the East India Company's Charter,[1] "*Public works.* There are, a grand trunk-road, from Calcutta to Delhi,[2] to be continued to Lahore and Peshawur, complete to Kurnal,[3] north of Delhi, 965 miles metalled throughout; cost, £1,000 per mile; total cost, about £1,500,000. Calcutta, and Bombay mail road, about 1000 miles, will cost £500,000. Bombay and Agra road, 734 miles, cost about £350 per mile. Ganges Canal, for irrigation of lands between the Ganges and Jumna, from Hurdwar to Alleghur, thence to Cawnpoor and Humeerpoor;[4]; whole length, 765 miles; cost about £1,500,000. Railways, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay."

"It was hardly necessary to notice," he said, "a topic which was universally known, that there was at present in progress in India, a plan for the creation of railroads. He hoped that plan would be found advantageous to India."[5] The East India Company have granted 4½ and 5 per cent. on a capital of £3,500,000 for railroads at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, or about £167,500 yearly; for which there will, for *some* years, be no return for this annual payment of interest. There is a good metalled road of 239 miles from Jubbulpoor to Mirapoor.[6] There will be eventually laid out eighty lakhs rupees, (£800,000) for canals, &c. in the Punjab, for irrigation, and now in the course of progress.

The East India Company lost the *China* trade in 1834, which was a profit to them, so that, while their debt has been increased by the pressure of wars since the above period, they have not had, as a set off, the advantage of the gain by the China trade. It was alone by the gain of that trade, that the Company were enabled, by their commercial assets, to form a guarantee fund for the redemption of the East India Stock.[7]

The Earl of *Derby*, in his speech regarding the East India

[1] House of Commons, 19th April, 1852. (*Times*, 19th April, 1852).

[2] From Calcutta to Cabool is a distance of 1520 miles, (*viâ* Cawnpoor, Meerut, and Kurnal). He gives 965 miles to Delhi. See Appendix (G).

[3] Not Kurnool, which is in the Madras Presidency.

[4] Not Humarpoor.

[5] The first English railroad was opened in 1830, from Manchester to Liverpool: rather late for the march of intellect!

[6] Not noticed in the statistical papers referred to in Appendix (G).

[7] It should have been 3,000,000 instead of 2,000,000, as the former would, and the latter *cannot*, redeem the £12,000,000 in the year 1874!

Company's Charter, said[1] in the House of Lords,—"In the course of that time," (between 1834-5 to 1849-50) "it is not only the material and commercial prosperity of India which has made rapid strides—it is not only that large territory has been added to your dominions, and new nations subjected to your sway, but I am happy to say, that in the arts of peace there has been a great and salutary increase."

It is not to be supposed that the Commerce of India could have been opened to the whole world without the aid of some mighty European power. It is only by the advancement of commerce in any new country that we can civilize its inhabitants. Had we rejected the providential design marked out for our line of conduct, many European nations would have felt the absence of our skill, science, and enterprise.

With regard to the investigation now going on before the Committees of both Houses, the present Prime Minister will, no doubt, echo the sentiments of his predecessor. The Earl of *Derby* said—"You will have to consider whether any modification should be introduced in the existing system, and upon the part of Her Majesty's Government there will be no indisposition to lay before the Committee, in the *fullest detail*, all the information they may desire with regard to the working of the existing machinery, whether in the *political*, in the *judicial*, or in the *social system* of India,[2] in order that your Lordships may have the *means* of coming to a deliberate and impartial decision upon that vast and momentous question—namely, by what means, and by what instrumentality (remembering that this is no *party*, no *political* question,—it is a question of *empire*), the great and important interests of that overwhelming empire of India can be best promoted and most steadily advanced." He concluded, "We should not *hastily*[3] pledge ourselves with regard to any specific course."

There is one important point connected with the "*Guarantee Fund*:" the conversion of a certain portion of the 3 per cents. to a new stock of $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If one species of stock affects all other stocks; then, it is to be asked—will that conversion affect the increase of the amount of the Guarantee Fund; or *diminish* it in amount, and delay its realization much beyond the year 1874?

Lord *Ellenborough* proposes to lend the credit of the State in this country to the Government of India, with the view of reducing the interest on the East India Company's stock. He

[1] Times 3rd April, 1852. See Appendix (A.)

[2] My *Italics*. The *Indian* Petitions deserve as much notice and evidence as the Manchester, Yorkshire, etc., lucubrations.

[3] The Examiner, 7th May, 1853, p. 290.

calculated the East India stock at £262. He was willing to give for every £100 stock, £266 13s. 4d. (including a premium of £4 13s. 4d.) in the 3 per cents. This would reduce the interest from £630,000 to £480,000, and cause a saving of £150,000.[1] This saving to be devoted to Public Works. There is one very important objection to this plan, as regards the East India Stock. It is contained in the Company's Charter Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV. chap. lxxxv. (20th August, 1833) section xii. "Provided always, and be it enacted, that the said dividend shall be subject to *redemption*[2] by Parliament upon and at any time *after* the 30th day of April, 1874, on payment to the Company of £200 for every £100 of the said Capital Stock, together with a proportionate part of the same dividends, if the redemption shall take place on any *other day* than one of the said half-yearly days of payment;[3] provided also, that *twelve* months' notice in writing, signified by the Speaker of the House of Commons, by order of the House, shall be given to the said Company, of the intention of Parliament to redeem the said dividend."[4] This affects the amount of yearly *interest*, as well as of *principal*.

The *Examiner* declares that the application of the said saving to Public Works, "seems to us the only part of the plan open to objection." He thinks that sooner or later a similar conversion to that above stated will be found essential, even with the territorial debt:—that was proposed in 1793, and an Act passed, but never acted upon. It was one advantage in having a national debt, to a certain amount, that it made the holders interested in the national welfare—that was principally in the last century, when we had less debt. It was also agreed that it was an advantage, inasmuch as it enabled many old persons, incapable of work, obtaining life annuities. That, however, can be effected either with the Government, or by wealthy Insurance Offices.[5] Now, as regards the Company's paper, a large portion (about one-third at least) is held by the Natives of India, which is considered an advantage, in the same way that in England, etc., in

[1] With a reduction of interest on India Bonds, and of the interest of the Guarantee Fund, it would cause an annual saving of more than £300,000 a year.

[2] My *Italics*.

[3] Here is even a fractional part to be paid. Interest would cease on 30th April, 1874, but if there were a delay, say to July following, a proportionate interest would be paid. The dividends are in *July* and January.

[4] Earl *Grey* said, in the House of Lords, 10th May, 1853,—"It was quite new to him that any Secretary of State could pledge the faith of the Government and of Parliament for all time to come." Debates on Secondary Punishments (*Transportation*). But the present Parliament could not give in to Lord *Ellenborough's* scheme, or to any deviation from the Act of 1833.

[5] Some years ago the Equitable Insurance Company (Blackfriars) had a capital of £13,000,000!

the last century, it was held to be, politically speaking, advantageous to have a great number of holders of stock of the National Debt.

Lord *Ellenborough* has probably considered the plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (lately) to convert many millions of the 3 per cent. into a stock of a lower denomination ($2\frac{3}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{3}$) to offer a good opportunity to the Government to apply the principle to the £6,000,000 of East India Stock, or, (as it is to be redeemed at £200 for £100), I must call it £12,000,000. Now there may be a *difficulty* as to the *time of the redemption* of the said stock;[1] for if the said conversion of certain 3 per cent. stock to a reduced rate of interest, will affect other stocks, it may affect the East India stock, and may retard the period of redemption beyond 1874. I cannot suppose that any Government could put aside the aforesaid Act of the 3 and 4 of William IV. The Earl *Grey*, said[2] in the House of Lords on the 10th May, 1853, in the debate on Secondary Punishments—"It was quite new to him that any Secretary of State could *pledge* the faith of the Government and of the Parliament *for all time to come.*" But I apprehend that, though the present Parliament might repeal any Act of any *former* Parliament;[3] still, clearly no modern British Parliament would repeal *such part* the said 3 and 4 of William IV.

As to the Indian Debt, there is a peculiar position in which to view it, as to the *past* and as to the *future* prospects. In the year 1829[4] the Government of India recorded the following minute—"*So that we can scarcely be said to have placed the finances of the country on a solid footing, until we shall have secured a local surplus of two crores of rupees.*" (£2,000,000.) Now, this refers to a period after a reduction of expenses to the standard of the year 1823, or before the Burmese War. If there could be a surplus up to the 30th April, 1874, it is clear to my mind that the Company's debt could not be fully redeemed by any such surplus. The reduction of interest, by the operation of the five per cent. Transfer Loan to another of four per cent., will relieve the financial budget.

The army of the British Government of India, including Her

[1] Lord *Ellenborough* says, the Guarantee Fund last year amounted to £3,997,448, and which must now (May, 1853) amount to £4,118,000. It will not amount to £12,000,000 in 1874!

[2] *Times*, 11th May, 1852. Debate on Secondary Punishments (*Transportation*). My *Italics.*

[3] It is conceived that an Act, using the words,—"and our heirs and successors, are *not binding* on a succeeding Sovereign." But Acts in *favour* of the people are different from penal statutes.

[4] Book 1830, Minute, dated 30th October, 1829. Lord *W. Bentinck*, Lord *Combermere*, *Sir C. T. Metcalf*, and *W. B. Bayley*, Esq., Governor-General and Council. (Extract).

Majesty's Troops, and the Company's European and Native Troops of all arms, consists of 289,529 men, viz.[1]—

Queen's Troops	29,480
Company's European Troops	19,928
Natives	240,121
	289,529
Add the Contingent Troops of the Native States, commanded by British Officers, and available under treaties to the British Government, amounting to about..	32,311
Total....	321,840
Add the military resources of the Native Princes of India, comprising a force of..	398,918[2]

This large British force of 321,840 only gives about one soldier to every 300 of the population. The military force[3] in the United Kingdom, including the Militia, is not above one soldier in 200. *Adam Smith* said no nation could support above one soldier or seaman in 100 of its population. The force, therefore, in India is not great; and, compared with continental nations, it is very small indeed. This force is to retain the country in peace, and is now carrying on a war in Ava. It has to check 398,918 men in the service of the Native Princes. We have not 60,000 Europeans in all India.[4]

Queen's Regiments going to India.—It has been stated by an Officer of the Queen's service, of some considerable standing, who has served in India, that it would be a great object in sending a surgeon with each fresh regiment to accompany it to India who had been there before; or, at any rate, to promote, say one of the old Assistant Surgeons in India to such fresh corps. The Officer above alluded to served with the 18th Royal Irish Fusileers in the war in China, and has served in India. He said the number of soldiers' lives lost by the Medical Officers never having served before in a hot climate is dreadful.

The Navy in India.—It was the opinion of a Governor-General

[1] Statistical Papers relating to India, Statistical Office, East India House, 28th March, 1853.

[2] Grand total, 720,758 men.

[3] The Seamen of the Navy, and part of the Marines excluded.

[4] The Army has 49,408 Europeans, leaving 10,592. The Indian Navy; medical, civilians, clerical, etc. about 2,000. There are not above 4,000 merchants, clerks, etc., etc., so that we have about 4,500 unaccounted for out of the above 60,000.

of India that the naval force in India was much too small. The Marquis *Wellesley* complained of it when sending the Indian portion of the expedition to Egypt in 1801.[1] There was a correspondence between Vice-Admiral *P. Rainier* and the Marquis. The former considered that no command had been received from His Majesty by the Commander of His Majesty's land and sea forces. The Governor-General was obliged to arm Indiamen *en flute*, and to use such vessels as he could furnish with guns, etc. It was a neglect in the Minister in not sending orders to the Naval Commander in the East Indies, since Mr. *Dundas* had ordered the Governor-General to dispatch 3,000 men to Egypt from India. Lord *Hobart* wrote that the Admiral's dissent to co-operate, no doubt proceeded from a sense of duty on his part. "I am to express His Majesty's entire approbation of the general principles laid down by your Lordship, in your letter of the 25th of February, 1801."[2] In the late Expedition to *Rangoon*, etc., the Indian Navy has had much to do, and has furnished a great number of steamers. The Indian Navy is a most valuable establishment, and is invaluable at all times in its services in the marine surveys. It seems difficult to conceive how the Royal Navy could perform this service, as European seamen cannot be so well calculated for the climate of the Indian Seas. Last year the Duke of Northumberland said in Parliament, alluding to the services then going on in the Burmese Expedition, that it was formerly[3] proposed to have a Naval Member in the Council of India.

In stating the case of officers retiring from the Indian army on pensions for length of service,[4] it should have been mentioned, that during the reign of King *William the 4th*, old Captains who retired from the navy on pensions, were allowed to be promoted to Rear-Admirals whenever their juniors on the *active* list should become Rear-Admirals; but without obtaining any increase to their retired pay, or to any further rank. It would be a great boon to the retired officers of the Indian army to be allowed to obtain the following additional rank on retirement from the Indian service :—

A Captain retiring on a Major's pension to have the rank of Major.[5]

A Major retiring on a Lieutenant-Colonel's pension, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.[5]

[1] Dsepatches, vol. ii. p. 753, Appendix Q. and p. 700.
[2] To the Admiral—the correspondence alluded to.
[3] During the war ended in 1815 most likely.
[4] Chapter vii.
[5] Only to get *one* step of promotion, though entitled to a Colonel's pension; the Colonel's rank is only given by a general *brevet*, or on *special* occasions.

The last Indian mail[1] brings us intelligence of a dispute between Maharajah Golab Sing of Cashmeer, and his nephew Jawahir Sing, which it is thought, may call for armed interposition on the part of the British Government. The state of Nepal is not a little out of joint. *Jung Bahadur*[2] was obliged to leave the country. The rebellion in *China* is stated to have passed *fever heat;* which will agree with the month of *May*. Russia has offered her aid; and the Emperor of China has asked the aid of both England and America. The forces of the three powers might attack the rebels from the north, south, and east. The export trade in Arracan is improving, as a number of ships were arriving in the ports of *Akyab* and *Kyook Phyoo*. The *Delhi Gazette* overland, of 6th April, 1853, announces that the Bengal Government has established a bullock train between Calcutta and Benares; and some company are proposing to establish a bullock train from Calcutta to Lahore. These are for the conveyance of goods by hackerries.

The "*Daily News*" of the 19th May, 1853, alluding to the *California* gold fields, says, "This gold crop is a very serious matter to India in more ways than one; and it would be well that our merchants should give a little thought[3] to the matter, in order to compel the Government to do so. One view of the matter is, that the plenitude of gold would remarkably stimulate commerce in India, if commerce were rendered possible: but another view is, that every annual accession of gold will make public works in India more expensive." "But they will not do this; and if they will not, and whether they will or no, *British capitalists should do it* for their own sakes, and for the sake of the whole world." "If not done at all, the consequences will one day be most startling."

The *Daily News* has found out the real plan for the improvement of India. The *British capitalists* and merchants who want the cotton, etc., should look to the best means of gaining their object. As there will probably be an increase of Engineers in the three Presidencies, the Government would, no doubt, allow two or three of their Engineers to join the Civil Engineers to be sent out by the Manchester, etc., Associations, and they may agree upon the best places for making roads, and the time for making them; for *all* seasons are *not* favourable for making roads. But while the *Daily News* calls for roads, etc., etc., he adds, "*India* has always been a wonderful example of debt. In old times her own princes were always in debt; and, when pressed very hard, they went forth to pillage somebody. The age

[1] Allen's India Mail.—(From the *Lahore Chronicle*).

[2] Who honoured England by his presence in 1851.

[3] There is no want of thought on their part, or absence of petitions. My *Italics*.

is too late for that remedy.[1] Our Government in India gets deeper and deeper into debt every year. The age is too late for that to be borne, considering that the means of retrieving its affairs is now opened, in a most singular manner, to all the world. If the Indian Government will not retrieve its affairs, British capitalists must retrieve the country that that Government professes to rule and guard; and those British capitalists will, fairly enough, pocket the profits. They will make railroads, and bring some part of the interior into connexion with some favourable spot on the coast. The inhabitants will first sell anything they can grow or make,[2] and then buy; and for this money will be wanted.

As the commerce increases,[3] the process of communication extends, more coinage will be wanted;[4] and when we consider that even now an increase of purchasing power to equal that of the mixed population of half-barbarous South America would make our exports to India amount to £60,000,000, it will be evident how the fall in the value of gold would be mitigated by the requirements of such a commerce as this."[5]

As we do not quite know what kind of roads are required, or the whereabouts, it is obvious that there should be a joint commission, of persons to be named by the said merchants, and the East India Company aforesaid.

[1] We may suppose after the death of *Aurungzeb* ("The ornament of the throne"), who died in 1707. Many used forced labour!

[2] The manufacture of Dacca Muslins was destroyed, and other manufactures, many years ago.

[3] See Appendix A.

[4] There are three mints in India. The Calcutta mint is superior to that in London. Colonel *Forbes* must have speculated on the gold of *California* and of *Australia*, when he made the mint so large. But we *have* gold in India.

[5] According to Appendix A. the trade has doubled between 1835 and 1850, and I calculate that in twenty-four years, or in 1874, the trade may be £60,000,000, or just at the expiration of the Charter Act about to be passed.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

A

TRADE OF INDIA.*—IMPORTS.

Year ending.	Merchandize.	Treasure.	Total.
30th June 1835,	£4,261,106	£1,893,023	£6,164,129
„ 1843,	7,603,360	3,443,291	11,046,894
„ 1850,	10,299,880	3,396,807	13,696,696

EXPORTS.

Year ending.	Merchandize.	Treasure.	Total.
30th June 1835,	£7,993,420	£194,740	£8,188,161
„ 1843,	13,651,824	215,796	13,767,621
„ 1850,	17,312,299	971,244	18,283,543

"These are striking results in so short a period. In fifteen years the imports show an increase from £6,154,129, to £13,696,696; and the exports from £8,188,161, to £18,283,543. And, as may naturally have been expected, England, more than any other country, has been benefited by this extraordinary increase of trade. In no market has our trade increased so rapidly. In 1834, the entire value of our exports to India was, £2,578,569, and in 1850, it was £8,022,665."

"Under the Government of Lord *Dalhousie*, much has been done to create new means of irrigation and of mutual intercourse. Canals extending over hundreds of miles, have been cut; railways have been commenced, and are being vigorously prosecuted under the guarantee of the Government; and some of the most extensive rivers, such as the *Godavery* and the *Indus*, are being converted into important channels of trade." "But by far the most important improvement of late years, has been the new settlements of whole districts of countries for fixed periods, varying from twenty to thirty years, by which land is held at a moderate stipulated rent on lease, and the cultivator secured in all the improvements he makes. This new system has already been extended to large districts, especially in the north-west; and wherever it has been adopted, has acted like a charm upon the condition of the people." "Let the attention of the Government of India be confined to these great duties, and all the rest may be entrusted to private enterprise; and whether the people grow cotton, and if they grow it, whether they export it or con-

* The *Economist*, March 26th, 1853, p. 334.

sume it, or whether they grow rice, or sugar, or indigo, will be determined by far sounder principles than the directions and interference of the wisest governments." See also Table (F).

B.

No. 4,595. Fort William Foreign Department, 7th of December, 1852. Notification.* "The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council has much satisfaction in publishing for general information, the following translation of a proclamation, issued by the Maha Raja of Joudpore, distinctly prohibiting the rite of Suttee in his territory."

Translation of proclamation regarding Suttee issued to the Hakims† of Pergunnahs in the Marwar territory.

"In compliance with the desire of the Honourable East India Company, it is ordered that Suttee should be forbidden. In case any one wishes to be a Suttee, the Jageerdars, and Boomeeahs, Rajpoots, and Ryots, all must be responsible for their own houses, that neither Suttee nor Sumand‡ takes place, Should a Suttee occur, a fine will be levied on Jageerdars, 200 Rs.§ on their Rekh,‖ (per 1,000), and from Ryots according to their property. A Perwannah to this effect is to be prepared for each village. It is the order of the Maha Raja."

"By order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council."

(Signed) C. ALLEN.
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

C.

ABOLITIONISTS. (*Twenty.*)	NON-ABOLITIONISTS. (*Fifteen*).
Jypoor.	Meywar (Oodeepoor).
Kotah.	Ulwur.
Jhalawar.	Bikaneer.
Boondee.	Kishengurh.
Jessulmœre.	Bhurtpoor, (Jaut).
Banswarra.	Baroda (Mahr).†
Purtabgurh.	Katteewar.
Doongurpore.	Bhopal.*
Kerowlee.	Cutch.
Sirhoee.	Dhar.
Dholepore.	Sawuntwarree (Mahr).†
Ameer Khan.	The four protected Sikh States.
(Mahomedan).*	
Jodhpore.	Twenty Abolitionists (Jodhpore since joined).
Hyderabad.*	
Indore (Mahr).	Fifteen Non-Abolitionists.
Rewah.†	
Rundilkund.	
Gwalior (Mahr).†	
Cashmere.	

* Calcutta Gazette, 8th December, 1852, p. 1540.
† Judges, or Chief Magistrates.
‡ Burying alive.
§ £20.
‖ Dues paid to Government, or to a feudal Chief.

* Mahomedans. † Mahrattas (Mahr).

D.

1834 Tanjore Creditors.
1835 Imports and Exports.
1836 Law Commission.
1838 Carnatic and Tanjore.
1838-42 Finance.
1838-43 Sinde.
1839 Produce of India.
1839-40 Affghanistan.
1840 Customs in India.
1840 Acts.
1840 China War.
1841 Military.
1842 Law Commission.
1843 Affghanistan.
1844 Treaties.
1845 Supreme Court of Madras.
1846 Army of India.
1846 Sikh War.
1847 Indian Accounts.
1847 Raja of Sattara.
1847 Law Commission (Two).
1847 Lahore Durbar.
1847 The Salt Monopoly.
1847 Indian Railroads.
1847-49 Punjab War.
1847 Cotton.
1848 Cotton.
1848 Sugar and Coffee Planting. (8 Reports).
1848 Irrigation of the Delta of the Godavery.
1848 Teak Forests, Report on.
1848 Hypothecation of Goods.
1848 Customs' Duties.
1848 Insolvent Debtors.
1848 Railroads (3rd Report).
1848 The Mint of Calcutta.
1848 The Rajah of Sattara.
1848 The Baroda Case.
1849 The Registrar of the Calcutta Supreme Court.
1849 The Raja of Sattara.
1849 The New Mutiny Act.
1849 Suppression of Slavery in the Persian Gulf.
1149 The Punjab.
1849 Idolatry in India.
1850 Steam Navigation between Suez and Bombay.
1850 Law of Marriage in India.
1850 Hypothecation of Goods.
1850 Report on Sugar Cultivation.
1850 Sanitarium at the Neilgherries.
1850 The Juggernath Pagoda.
1850 The Roman Catholic Church in India.
1850 The Raja of Sattara.
1850 The Law of Adoption in India as to Natives.
1851 Public Works in India.
1851 Idolatry in India.
1851 The Law of Marriage in India.
1851 Indian Accounts.
1851 Customs and Post Office Duties.

1851 Trigonometrical Survey in India.
1851 Irrigation of Lands in India.
1851 The Raja of Sattara.
1852 The Burmese War.
1852 Evidence regarding the Renewal of the Charter Act. (Two Volumes).
1852 Education in India for the Natives.
1852 The Cultivation of Sugar in India.
1852 The Baroda, or Col. Outram's Case, (2 parts) or 2281 pages.
1852 Conduct, etc., of the Ameer Ali Morad, (Sinde).
1853 Statistical Papers relating to India, (East India House, 28th March, 1853).
77 of these, 35 large, and 40 Small Blue Books, 1834 to 1853).
53 do. large, from 1773 (including the years from 1756) to 1833.

130

The Volumes contain an enormous amount of information—which few have looked into—*seriatim*.

Accounts, Indian, 1847, 1851.
Acts, 1840.
Adoption, Law of Natives, 1846.
Affghanistan, 1839-40, 1843.
Ali Morad (Sinde), 1852.
Army of India, 1846.
Baroda Case, 1848.
Do. and Col. Outram, 1852.
Burmese War, 1852.
Calcutta Supreme Court's Register, 1849.
Carnatic and Tanjore, 1838.
Charter Renewal (Evidence), 1852.
China War, 1840.
Cotton Reports, 1847, 1848.
Custom's Duties in India, 1840, 1848.
Do. and Post Office Duties, 1851.
Education in India, 1852.
Finance, 1838-42.
Hypothecation of Goods, 1848, 1850.
Idolatry in India, 1849, 1851.
India, Produce of, 1839.
Imports and Exports, 1835.
Insolvent Debtors, 1848.
Irrigation of the Delta of the Godavery, 1848.
Do. of Lands in India, 1851.
Juggernath Pagoda, 1850.
Lahore Durbar, 1847.
Law Commission, 1836, 1842, 1847.
Law of Marriage in India, 1850, 1851.
Madras Supreme Court, 1845.
Military, do. 1841.
Mint of Calcutta, 1848.
Mutiny, New Act, 1849.
Railroads, India, 1847, 1848.
Roman Catholic Church in India, 1850.
Produce in India. See India.
Public Works, 1851.
Punjab, War, etc., 1847-49, 1849.
Salt Monopoly, 1847.
Sanatarium, Neilgherries, 1850.
Sattara, Rajah, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851.
Sikh War, 1846.
Sinde, 1838-43.
Slavery, Suppression of, in Persian Gulf, 1849.
Statistical Papers, 1853.
Steam Navigation between Suez and Bombay, 1850.
Sugar and Coffee Planting, 1848.
Do. Cultivation, Report, 1850, 1852.
Tanjore Creditors, 1834.
Teak Forests, Report, 1848.
Treaties, 1844.
Trigonometrical Survey in India, 1851.

A great proportion of these Volumes are regarding the products of India, etc.

E.

AMERICAN COTTON AND SLAVERY.

An American Planter, a Physician, said the English abolition of slavery in the West Indies "was a very small affair—a local disease, far removed

from the heart of the empire, unconnected with the interests, and adverse to the feelings and habits of the people generally." "Now," he said, "slavery with us is an internal disease, that affects the whole system. It cannot be suddenly expelled, it must be gradually removed." "Slaves becomes extinct before their labour ceases to be profitable. At present England supports it too well, for that to be the case."

"We supply England with cotton, the cultivation of which, employs the majority of our slaves. Should England see her own interest sufficiently to abandon her restrictive policy, and allow her colonies to develop their resources, we should probably lose our best customer, since she possesses a vast extend of land suited to the growth of cotton, in various parts of her dominions, especially in India, where a dense population might be turned to good account in cultivating it, who would take her manufactures in exchange. Thus by extending the freedom of her own subjects, she would most effectually diminish slavery with us."—(*Marianne Finch*—"An Englishwoman's experience in America," p. 312, 1853.)

F.

The Earl of *Derby* said in his speech in the House of Lords, (*Times* 3rd.) 2nd April, 1852, regarding the East India Company's Charter.

	Tons.
Tonnage of British Ships between this country and India—	
arrivals in 1834-35, were	108,000
In 1849-50	252,000
Departures in 1834-35	83,776
Do. 1849-50	280,897
Imports* 1834-35, in round numbers 61,000,000lbs.....	6,000,000
Do. 1849-50, ...	12,000,000
Exports in 1834-35.....	8,000,000
Do. 1849-50	18,000,000

See, Table (A) ante.

G.

PUBLIC WORKS.†

1. New trunk-road from Calcutta to Delhi, and Lahore and Peshawur.
2. The Bombay and Agra road.
3. The Calcutta and Bombay mail-road.

1st. The trunk-road from Calcutta to Delhi, and thence to Peshawur (commenced about 1836), is 1423 miles in length, viz.:—

	Miles.
Calcutta to Delhi	887
Delhi to Kurnal‡	78
Kurnal to Loodiana	124
Loodiana to Ferozpore.....	74
Ferozpore to Lahore	50
Lahore to Peshawur.....	210
	1,423§

* The last year, for which there was then a return.

† Statistical Papers relating to India.—Statistical Office, East India House, 28 March, 1853, p. 81. There is a Map.

‡ It is *Kurnal*, not *Kurnool*.

§ Add 239 miles of road from Jubbulpoor to Mirzapoor.

2nd. The Bombay and Agra road was commenced under Lord *Auckland's* administration in 1840. The length of the road is 734 miles, viz.:—

	Miles.
Agra to Indore	370
Indore to Akberpore	51
Akberpore to Sindwa	43
Sindwa to Bombay	270
	734

This road is not macadamized, except in parts. It cost £243,676, or about £330 per mile.

3rd. The formation of the Calcutta and Bombay mail road (commenced 1840.)—

	Miles.
Calcutta to Ahmednuggur (viâ Sumbulpore, Raepore, and Nagpore)	1,002
Ahmednuggur to Poona	74
Poona to Bombay	94
Total	1,170

Summary.

	Length in Miles.	Cost.	Ann. Repairs.
Grand Trunk Road, Calcutta to Peshawur	1,423	£1,423,000	£50,000
Calcutta to Bombay	1,002	500,000	35,000
Bombay and Agra Road	734		
Grand Total	3,159	2,166,676	90,000

Provision made for Cross Roads.

CANALS.

Ganges Canal		810 miles
From Hurdwar to Allyghur	180	
Allyghur to Cawnpore	170	
Allyghur to Humeerpoore	180	
Branch to Futteghur	170	
Ditto to Boolundshuhr	60	
Ditto to Coel	50	
	810	

The whole volume of water from the rivers of the Himalayas, available for irrigation, has been estimated at about 24,000 cubic feet per second in the dry season, viz.:—

Ganges	6,750
Jumna	2,870
*Ravee	3,000
*Chenaub	5,000
*Sutlej, at Roopa	2,500
*Jhelum	4,000
	24,120

* The *Punjab* rivers. —

A surface of 24,000 square miles may be ultimately irrigated by these rivers.

The whole stream of the Jumna has been diverted from the main channel into two canals, called the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals.*

	Miles.
The length of the Western Canal, with its branches, extends to	425
That of the Eastern	155
	580

The Ganges Canal.—Its main object is the irrigation of the North-West Provinces.

Total cost estimated is £1,555,548, of which £722,556 have been expended.

The Ravee Canal (Punjab) in progress. Its length, with the branches, will be 450 miles.

Madras.

Extensive system of Canal irrigation on the Godavery, Cauvery and Kistna rivers.

RAILROADS.

Bengal.

The sum of £2,000,000 for the Railroad from Calcutta to Raj Mahal, has been sanctioned under contract at 5 per cent. for the first £1,000,000, and 4½ per cent. for the second £1,000,000.

Madras.

The sum of £500,000 sanctioned at 4½ per cent.

Bombay.

An experimental line of railway from Bombay to Calian. The capital of 1,000,000, at interest of 5 per cent.

The East India Company's Guarantees (on £3,500,000) amount to a payment of £167,500 yearly.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.†

There is, between Calcutta and Kedjeree,‡ a system of Electric Telegraph communication, measuring, with its ramifications, a distance of eighty-two miles, at a cost of £5,200.

There will be established an entire line of telegraphic communication, measuring 3,150 miles, connecting Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, Simla, and Lahore; the cost is estimated at £35 per mile, or £110,250 for the whole distance.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH TO ALEXANDRIA, IN EGYPT.§

A company for the establishment of this project has been formed in France. It is intended, (says the *Patrie*,) to continue the Submarine Telegraph which

* Near Culpee there are sandy flats, which render the river shallow. They might be passed by a Canal, like the Sax Gotha, in Sweden

† Statistical papers, p. 85.

‡ At the mouth of the river Hooghley, fifty-two miles S. by W. from Calcutta.

§ United Service Gazette, 14th May, 1853.

comes from England to France, by land to *Nice* and Genoa, reaching Spezzia at the bottom of the gulf of the same name. The new line will then start from that point over Corsica and Sardinia, to the coast of *Algeria*, as far as the regency of *Tunis*. This part of the work will be finished in two years. At the end of that time, the line will be prolonged along the shores of the *Mediterranean* to *Alexandria*. The cable will be at the bottom of the sea, and the points chosen for crossing are very favourable. From Spezzia to Cape Corse, the maximum depth is only 220 metres; in the Strait of Bonifacio, it is only eighty; and from the extremity of Sardinia to Bona, on the coast of Africa, it is only 327. The average depth is much less considerable. This will be the means of expediting the communication of intelligence some days earlier, and make it more regular up to a certain point.

THE TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.*

An arc of the meridian has been measured from Cape Comorin to the sub-Himalaya Mountains, a distance of 1,460 miles. This important work was brought to a successful termination in 1840. In 1847 the home authorities authorized the India Government to extend the survey to the extreme limits of the Empire (Peshawur). The area triangulated to the end of 1848 amounted to 477,044 square miles, at a cost of £341,278, or about 14s. per square mile. The completion of the work may be expected in three or four years. The triangulation supplies an accurate basis, upon which the revenue surveys are constructed.

Revenue Surveys	£235,655
Ditto Settlement.....	337,069
	£572,724

The revenue surveys of the lower Provinces of Bengal, (that of the Upper, being complete), and also of the Bombay territories, are now in progress, and ultimately the plan will be extended to the whole of India.

The great Atlas of India, on a scale of four miles to an inch, is in the course of preparation.

KURRACHEE MOLE AND ROAD.

Among the public works constructed in Scinde may be mentioned the Kurrachee Mole and Road, at an expense of £30,961.

COST OF PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA.†

The public works, roads, bridges, embankments, canals, tanks, and wells, executed in Bengal, North West Provinces, Madras, Bombay.

		Grand Total.
Year	1837-38	17,35,913 Rupees
	1849-50	31,01,815 „
	1850-51	33,46,511 „
	1851-52 (estimated)	69,35,290 „

RIVER COMMUNICATION.‡

On the river *Ganges*, steam vessels for goods and passengers have for many years been established. They convey troops on urgent occasions. Consider-

* Statistical papers, p. 86.
† Statistical tables, p. 88, to latest accounts received.
‡ Lord W. Bentinck established a steamer in 1832; but in 1834, steamers were available to the public.

ble sums have been laid out to remove the obstacles to navigation below Allahabad.

Steam vessels have been established on the river *Indus* for the conveyance of goods and passengers from *Kurrachee** to *Mooltan*, and it is intended to extend the line to *Kalabdgh*† on the Indus, and to *Jhelum*‡ on the river of that name.

EDUCATION.‖

The sum now disbursed from the gross revenue for educational purposes amounts to between £70,000 and £80,000 per annum.

OPIUM.§

Receipts from the revenue from the Opium revenue from the year 1834-35

1834-35	£728,517¶
1839-40	316,666
1840-41	819,635
1841-42	955,093
1842-43	1,478,046
1849-50	3,309,637

Number of Chests of Opium sold in Bengal or exported from Bombay.

	Bengal.	Bombay.	Total.
1840-41	17,858	16,773	34,631
1848-49	36,000	16,509	52,509

A Bengal chest contains 164 lbs. or 80 Seers. The cost to Government rupees $3\frac{1}{8}$ per Seer, or 280 per chest. The Malwa chest contains 140 lbs.**

COTTON EXPORTED FROM INDIA TO GREAT BRITAIN AND OTHER PLACES.††

Years 1834-35	326,875,425 lbs.
„ 1849-50	775,469,000 „

PRICES AT LIVERPOOL.

1834-35	5d. to $6\frac{3}{4}$d. $7\frac{7}{8}$d. to $9\frac{3}{4}$d.
1849-50	3d. to $4\frac{1}{2}$d. 4d. to $6\frac{1}{2}$d.

Pegue.—In consequence of Mr. *Cobden's* question to *Sir C. Wood* (President of the Board of Control, on the 20th May, 1853,) in the House of Commons, as to the annexation of *Pegue* by the Government of India, I have referred to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.‡‡ It comprehends the Delta of the Irawati, (*Irawadi*) and the lower course of the Sá-lwén river, and extends from Ré (Yé) in 15° 13′ *North*, and 98° 4′ *East*, to Sedwé, or Sandwé (*Sandowy*), in 18° 28′ *North*, and 94° 17′ *East*. "The area extending in one direction from

* Just before the battle of Meeânee, Feb. 1843. Her Majesty's 41st Regiment were conveyed by steamers from upper Scinde to Kurrachee.
† About sixty or seventy miles below Attock.
‡ Thirteen marches from Attock.
‖ Statistical papers, p. 77.
§ Do. p. 75.
¶ At 2s. the Sicca rupees. In 1835 the Company's rupees were in circulation.
** A better weight, as it dries down to 133 lbs., the Chinese peecul.
†† Statistical papers, p. 69.
‡‡ Vol. 23, p. 165, (*Pegue*) by Crawfurd, (1829) pp. 463, 434. It contains an able account of Burmah, Pegue, etc.

the sea to the promontory of Kyaòk Taran, just above Nyaòng Suré, on the Irawati (*Irawadi*), and in the other from the river Bassaen to that of the Martabán, constitutes (Crawfurd 434) the natural country of the Talains, or Natives of Pegue, and measures about 27,300 square miles.* It now forms a part of the Burman Empire, and is divided into the districts of Bassain, Hansawati, and Martaban."

"About 20,000 Talains emigrated from Pegue, when it was restored after the peace to the Birmans, but even including them, the rich province of Martabán has not five inhabitants for one square mile."† We could not *again* give up the Peguers to the tender mercies of the Burmese. Alompra obtained possession of Ava from the Peguers in 1753. In these wars the French favoured the Peguers, while the English supported the Birmans. In 1754 the Peguers were defeated in an attempt to retake Ava. In 1755 Alompra defeated the king of Pegue's brother; after which the Peguers deserted Bassein. In 1757, Alompra attacked the city of Pegue. The Peguers revolted. In 1760 Alompra died. On his death Namdojee Pran succeeded. He died in 1764. He was succeeded by his brother Shembuan. He, in 1765, sent an expedition against the Siamese with partial success. In 1766 the Burmese took the capital of Siam. In 1767‡ the *Chinese* sent an army of 50,000 men from the Western frontier of Yunan,‖ which advanced as far into the country as the village of *Chiboo*, where they were hemmed in by the *Birmans*. The Chinese were attacked, and wholly destroyed, except 2,500, whom the Birmans sent in fetters to the capital.

We are to keep Pegue, and of course Martaban, Basseen, and Rangoon. Mr. *Cobden* may rest assured he is mistaken in supposing the population of Pegue to be anything like 4,000,000 of people, which would be about 140 to the square mile, there may, probably, be 30 to a square mile. As the Chinese have of late years migrated to several countries, perhaps numbers may leave the Chinese province of Yunan. In the year 1325, the Emperor of India (Mohammed Tòghlak)§ "sent an army of 100,000 men through the Hémaláya mountains to conquer Chiza; but when the passage was effected, the Indians found a powerful Chinese army assembled on the frontier." The Indians, reduced in numbers, etc., were forced to retire, owing to the want of provisions, and the approach of the rainy season. The rains checked the Chinese who pursued the Indians. "So terrible were the calamities of their retreat, that at the end of fifteen days scarcely a man was left to tell the tale."

The vulnerability of our position towards Nepal has been spoken of by a gentleman of a high position at the East India House. At the Peace of 1816 we had taken half of the territories belonging to the Goorkhas. During the Sikh war of 1845-46 the Rajah came to the plains; it was said to be on account of sport, but he brought many troops with him; the Resident accompanied him. The Deputy Governor of Bengal detached an European regiment to Dinapoor, and other arrangements were made. There was a plot discovered at Patna, and certain letters were found at Katmandoo regarding the said plot. There is no doubt that *entrenched camps* opposite to the passes would become necessary in case of any serious war in the North West Provinces. We should thus command the *Teraee* (or low country), the principa source from which the Goorkhas obtain their grain, &c.

* Nearly the size of Scotland (29,167 square miles). Pegue, if not of an irregular figure, would have 44,265 square miles. The Provinces ceded by the last war are said to be equal to 33,800 square miles. (Vol. 23, p. 177.)

† Crawfurd, p. 482. The population of the ceded provinces were stated, altogether, a one and a half inhabitant to a square mile. Mr. *H. H. Wilson's* Narrative of the Burmese War (1824-26) of 1852 shows a large increase of population.

‡ Burman Era, 1131.

‖ The city of Ava is about half way between it and Martaban.

§ Elphinstone's History of India, 1841, vol. 2, p. 60.

The first Burmese war cost about £10,000,000 too much! It was a necessary war. At the peace between England and France, in 1783, Admiral *Suffrein*, on his return to France, in 1784, told *Louis XVI.* that the best mode of invading India would be by obtaining possession of Aracan.* By the possession of Pegue, reaching to the north as far as Prome, we possess an additional defence for Aracan. We protect *Siam* by the annexation, as Pegue lies between *Siam* and the Burmese territories. We gain possession of the *teak forests*. By having the command of the river, and the possession of Rangoon, &c., we shall command not only the trade of the country, but of the country which supplies the Burmese with rice!

The importance of Egypt to India is very great. I have before stated† that during the *Sikh War* (1845-46), it was said a proposal was spoken of to obtain the Pasha's consent for troops *without their arms*, being allowed a passage through Egypt. It has been proposed to form a route through *Arabia* by a canal‡ from the *Red Sea* to the *Dead Sea*, thence overland to *Basra*, and then to have steamers to run to Bombay by the *Persian Gulf*, etc. This has been suggested in case Egypt failed us. Many think wars are likely to take place in a few years. The author of the the "*Struggles of Nations*," reckoning sixteen years from the year 1848, prophecies that in the year 1864, after many battles, the great battle of "ARMAGEDDON" is to be fought near the *Euphrates*.‖

Wars have been expensive, notwithstanding the opinion of his late Majesty *George* the Third. Some sixty years ago Dr. *Watson* (then Bishop of *Llandaff*) who was a chemist, had made some improvements in making gunpowder. At a levée, the king said he understood that the bishop had made the said improvements, upon which the bishop replied, "*I take shame to myself for having so mis-spent my time.*" "*Pooh! pooh!*" said the king, "*my Lord, the more expensive you make wars the less we shall have of them.*" Mr. *Cobden* may be assured that the present Burmese war will not be so expensive as that of 1824-26. It cost about £500,000 last year, and in 1853 will very likely be finished. The total cost will be, probably, about £2,500,000. Then he must recollect the *teak* forests, and that we shall have the means of doing a great deal of good to the country—open up a new trade, defend the *Peguers* from the horrid *Burmese*, and protect the *Siamese*. We shall be able to introduce into England the Pegue ponies, which are very beautiful animals.§

In the India Reform Pamphlet, No. IV. p. 6, it is stated there are 398,918 troops kept up by the native Princes of India, besides the contingents and the British troops,¶ paid for by 53,000,000 of people. This amounts to 132 to 133 persons to pay for *one* soldier. But why do these princes keep up all these troops? The accounts of the troops in the service of the native princes must be taken *cum grano salis*. We find that *Abul Fazel*, in 1582, gave the numbers following for the provinces:—

	Cavalry.	Infantry.
Bahar	11,415	449,350
Bengal**	23,330	801,158
	34,745	1,250,508
		34,745
		1,285,253††

* My Political and Military Events in India, 1756 to 1849, Vol. ii. p. 124.

† Ditto, Vol. i. p. 224.

‡ The levels near the *Dead Sea* have been taken, and the country is to be examined.

‖ Revelations, chapter xvi. verses 12 to 16.

§ A fine opportunity for sending some of those beautiful creatures for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the other Royal Princes and Princesses.

¶ Grand total, 726,758.

** The amount at the Capital for the whole province is given usually by *Abul Fazel*, in the *Aeen Akbiree!!!*

†† The province of Orissa, included in the Institutes of Acber.

The revenue was:—

Bahar	Sicca Rupees	53,47,985
Bengal	,,	1,49,61,482
Total....		2,03,09,467

This would absorb all the revenue, and give sixteen rupees (or £1 12s. 0d.) for each soldier per annum. The troops for Agra, Allahabad, Bahar, Bengal, and Sirhind, amounted to 2,127,593, with a revenue of 4,17,76,430 sicca rupees. This would give Rs. 19-10-0 for each soldier, or about forty shillings a year, absorbing the whole revenue. For Lahore* the amount of troops is stated at 480,566. We know that many of these Infantry were only *Piadas*, or foot men, in fact watchmen (*Chokeedars*). The whole account of *Abul Fazel* appears to be a romance.

It is said that the employment of a certain portion of the population of India does good, inasmuch as it provides for a portion of dissolute persons. After the Pindaree and Mahratta War (1817-18) a number of the former were located in Rohilkund, etc., and became quiet subjects. The *sudden* discharge of a number of Sepoys in 1802, shortly before the Mahratta War of 1803-4, was a very impolitic measure, for these very men fought against us at the battle of Laswaree (1803). !!!

* At 102,000 square miles, and 300 persons per square mile, we should have one man in thirty-seven a soldier.

THE END.

ERRATA.

P. 18—text, line 12 bottom, for "bad *cities*," read "*critics*."
P. 26—note 3, line 4, for "*Little*," read "*Littler*."
P. 37—par. 2, line 8, for "Governor-General," read "Governor" of Bengal.
P. 42 - line 8, for "*Poosa*," read "*Poosa*."
P. 42—line 2 from bottom, for "land heads," read "sand heads."
P. 43—line 12, for "acclimated *arrival*," read "*animal*."
P. 44—line 2, for "Perogshah," read "Perozshah."
P. 45—line 6, for "horses, and the other horses," read "169 horses, and the other 212 horses."
P. 56—note 1, for "Pannipuk," read "Panniput."
P. 57—line 9, bottom, for "be much surplus," read "so much surplus."
P. 63 - line 3, after "as in our army," add "formerly."
P. 81 - line 17, for "£1,910," read "£191."
P. 92 - line 2, for "1718," read "1781."
P. 90 - text, bottom, for "besides, etc.," ending East India Company, read "Salt is now."
P. 118 note 4, for "and is now," read "and is now equalized."

W. HOUGH.

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